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ABSTRACT

With this issue, the scope of this series is enlarged to include cultural as well as linguistic studies. Articles published in the series are based primarily on field work in Philippine cultural communities but occasionally studies are included on one of the major languages or languages spoken outside the Philippines. The present volume comprises three data-rich studies on Kagayanen by Carol Pebley and two Kagayanen texts. One text was collected and translated by Louise MacGregor and the other by Carol Jean Pebley. The interlinear gloss is supplied by Carol Jean Pebley. The texts illustrate the other three papers and provide checking some of the claims of the author. The sketch of the Kagayanen clause structures provides background information for the other two articles; it is not intended to be a complete grammar sketch. The section on noun phrases in "Kagayanen enclitic demonstratives" also provides background. That article and "Participant reference in Kagayanen" illustrate the importance of discourse studies for understanding the structure and function of clauses and phrases. Throughout the book, personal names in the examples from bibliographical texts have been changed. 13 references. (Author/KFT)

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STUDIES IN PHILIPPINE LANGUAGES & CULTURES

Volume 10

Number 2

1999

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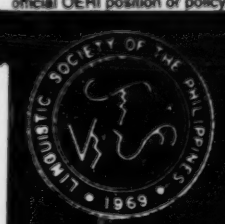

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Studies in Philippine Languages and Cultures (formerly *Studies in Philippine Linguistics*) is a joint venture undertaken by the Linguistic Society of the Philippines and the Summer Institute of Linguistics devoted to the timely publication of papers of an empirical or theoretical nature which contribute to the study of language and communicative behavior in the Philippines. A certain proportion of the papers published will be penultimate versions of works of special interest to the Philippine linguistic community destined for further publication in more final form elsewhere.

Scholars engaged in the study and description of Philippine languages and cultures are hereby invited to submit contributions for inclusion in this series.

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In Appreciation

This is the final volume published with the involvement of Hazel Wrigglesworth as editor. Her valuable contribution over the years is much appreciated, and we wish her all the best.

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Preface

The analysis presented in these papers is based on a restricted model of localist case grammar developed by DeLancey (1984, 1985, 1991), based on earlier models proposed by Anderson (1971) and Gruber (1976) among others, and applied to Philippine languages, specifically Karao, by Brainard (1994). See Pebley (1998) for an application of this model to one aspect of Kagayanen grammar. Note that some terms, e.g. "causative verb," are used in slightly different ways than in other theories.

Kagayanen is a member of the Northern Manobo subgroup of the Southern Philippine language family (Harmon 1977). It includes many loan words from Hiligaynon, a Visayan language. Thus, Kagayanen is similar to Manobo languages in structure, but more like Hiligaynon in vocabulary. The language is spoken by 15,000–20,000 people living on the islands of Cagayancillo, Palawan, Negros, Panay and Luzon.

Harmon presents the following hypothesis regarding Kagayanen history:

> The presence of the South-Bisayan/Mamanwa words in Kagayanen strongly support my belief that Kagayanens migrated from a north-east Mindanao location (1977:230).
>
> ...the home of the Kagayanens subsequent to their assumed north-east Mindanao home is by no means certain. The fact that Kagayanens in the Cagayan Islands, Palawan, and Busuanga Island all refer to themselves and their language as Kagayanen supports the hypothesis that all these Kagayanens migrated from the Cagayan Islands (1977:231).

I wish to acknowledge the help of many Kagayanen friends for their hospitality and for helping me to learn their language. Miss Mermor P. Cayabo helped in the analysis of the narratives and in checking data.

Carol Jean Pebley
December 1997

ABBREVIATIONS

A/ADV	adverb
ABS	absolutive
ACT	active
ADJ	adjective
ADJR	adjectivizer
AG	agent
APT	aptative mood
ATT	attitude marker
CAUS	causative
CIRC	circumstantial
CM	completed aspect or perfective
COMP CL	complement clause
CONT	continuative
CRD	complete reduplication
CTR	contrast
CV	partial reduplication with the first consonant and first vowel
CVC	partial reduplication with the first consonant, the first vowel and the second consonant of the root
CVC_F	partial reduplication with the first consonant, the first vowel and the last consonant of the root
D1	deictic 1 - here near speaker
D2	deictic 2 - here near speaker and addressee
D3	deictic 3 - there near addressee
D4	deictic 4 - far from speaker and addressee
DEF	definite markers, i.e. encliticized demonstratives and the oblique locative marker
DEM/dem	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distributive aspect
ERG	ergative
EMPH	emphatic
Exist Cl	existential clause
EX	exclusive (first person pronoun)
EXT	existential word
F	far
FRNT	fronted
G	generic
GEN	genitive
GER	gerund
IN/incl	inclusive (first person pronoun)
INC	incomplete aspect
INDEF	indefinite
INJ	interjection
INS	intensifier
INT	interrogative
INST	instrument
IRR	irrealis aspect
LK	linker
LOC	location
M	medium distance
mod	modifier
N	near
NEG	negative
NONABS	nonabsolutive
NP	noun phrase
NR	nominalizer
OBL	oblique phrase/oblique case marker
P	personal
PASS	passive
PAST	past tense
PL/pl	plural
PLM	plural marker
POSS	possessive
PRT	particle
PURP	purpose
R	realis
RC	reciprocal
REL	relationship between two people
RP	repetitive
RS	reported speech
SG/sg	singular
SP	specific
SPAT	spatial
STAT	stative
SUR	surprise

TH	Theme	/	alternative related meaning
VSO	verb-subject-object word order	.	compound gloss for one word in Kagayanen
-	glottal stop	...	word or words omitted
=	morpheme break in a word and gloss breaks	+/–	optional
		+	obligatorily present
,	separates semantic or grammatical components of a morpheme in the gloss line	–	obligatorily absent
		Ø	zero reference
		1	first person
		2	second person
___	discontinuous morphemes	3	third person

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A Sketch Of Kagayanen Clause Structures

Carol Jean Pebley
Summer Institute Of Linguistics

0. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to give a brief sketch of Kagayanen clause structures as background information for the other papers on Kagayanen in this volume. Many details, e.g. differences in marked and unmarked forms, differences in intentional and unintentional actions or whether the Theme (Patient) is totally or partially affected, are omitted.

1. Verbal Clauses

There are two main clause types in Kagayanen: verbal and nonverbal. A verbal clause has a verb and one or more noun phrase arguments. Verbal clauses are classified as transitive (section 1.1) or intransitive (section 1.2).[1]

1.1. Transitive Clauses

A transitive clause has two obligatory arguments, Agent and Patient (or Agent and Theme in localist case grammar), in its basic form. The basic order of constituents in a transitive clause is verb — ergative NP (Agent) — absolutive NP (Theme), i.e. Kagayanen is a VSO language.

1.1.1. Basic Transitive Clause with Active Transitive Verb

The unmarked form of semantically transitive motion verbs, bidirectional verbs, causative verbs, ditransitive verbs and utterance verbs occurs in a basic active transitive clause in which the Agent is the ergative noun phrase, the Theme is the absolutive noun phrase and is cross-referenced on the verb by the affix *pa-*, and the Location is an oblique noun phrase, except for causative clauses where the nuclear Location is covert in the verb.[2] Thus, the Agent, Theme and Location have a CAUSE GOTO orientation: that is, the Agent causes the Theme to move toward the Location, as in example 1 with the transitive motion

[1] I am grateful to Mary Ruth Wise for her help and suggestions in writing this paper. Louise MacGregor and Jacqueline Huggins also made many helpful suggestions.

[2] In localist case grammar Location can either be a physical site or a state and in Kagayanen Locations that are states are always covert NPs in that they never occur in the clause.

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verb *batang* 'put'.[3] Examples with the bidirectional verb *eles* 'borrow/lend', the causative verb *utod* 'cut', the ditransitive verb *atag* 'give', and the utterance verb *ambal* 'say' are in 2, 3, 4, and 5, respectively.

	VERB	ERG	ABS		OBL		
(1)	Pabatang	din	bulak	an	naan	ta	lamisa.
	pa=batang	din	bulak	an	naan	ta	lamisa
	ACT,TH,R=put	3,SG,ERG	flower	DEF,M	SPAT,DEF	OBL	table

'She[4] put the flower on the table.'

	VERB	ERG			ABS	
(2)	Paeles	ta	katagsa	ko	libro	an
	pa=eles	ta	katagsa	ko	libro	an
	ACT,TH,R=borrow/lend	ERG	cousin	1,SG,GEN	book	DEF,M

OBL		
naan	ki	yaken.
naan	ki	yaken
SPAT,DEF	OBL	1,SG,OBL

'My cousin lent me a book.'

	VERB	ERG		ABS	
(3)	Pautud	ta	mama	kaoy	ya.
	pa=utod	ta	mama	kaoy	ya
	ACT,TH,R=cut	ERG	man	wood	DEF,F

'The man cut the wood.'

	VERB	ERG	ABS			OBL		
(4)	Paatag	nay	dayad	na	sidda	naan	ta	bai
	pa=atag	nay	dayad	na	sidda	naan	ta	bai
	ACT,TH,R=give	1,PL,EX,ERG	good	LK	fish	SPAT,DEF	OBL	woman

ya.	
ya	
DEF,F	

'We gave the good fish to the woman.'

	VERB	ERG	ABS				OBL	
(5)	Paambal	din	dayad	an	na	isturya	ki	yaken.
	pa=ambal	din	dayad	an	na	isturya	ki	yaken
	ACT,TH,R=say	3,SG,ERG	good	DEF,M	LK	story	OBL	1,SG,OBL

'He told the good story to me.'

---

[3] Realis verbs instead of irrealis are used in the examples as much as possible since they are more productive. The case marker *ta* is glossed ERG, GEN, or OBL to indicate the different functions of the noun phrases it marks; it could be glossed 'nonabsolutive (NONABS)'.

[4] Since gender is not distinguished in third person pronouns, 'he' or 'she' in the free translation comes from the context.

1.1.2. Basic Transitive Clauses with Perception and Cognition Transitive Verbs

The unmarked form of a perception verb (example 6) and a cognition verb (example 7) occurs in a transitive clause in which the Theme is the absolutive noun phrase, as in example 7, and is cross-referenced on the verb by the affix *na- -an*; the absolutive can be replaced by a complement clause, as in example 6. The Location is an ergative noun phrase. The Theme and the Location have a GOTO orientation: that is, the Theme moves toward the Location.

	VERB	ERG	COMP CL		
(6)	Namatian	din	ambal	ta	pari.
	na=mati=an	din	ambal	ta	pari
	STAT,TH,R=hear=___	3,SG,ERG	say	GEN	priest

'He heard what the priest said.'

	VERB	ERG		ABS				
(7)	Naisipan	ta	bai	sabat	an	na	dayad.	
	na=isip=an	ta	bai	sabat	an	na	dayad	
	STAT,TH,R=think=___	ERG	woman	answer	DEF,M	LK	good	

'The woman thought of the good answer.'

1.1.3. Antipassive, Passive and Applicative Constructions

An antipassive clause can be formed from an active transitive clause by demoting the Theme to the oblique phrase. The Location is also an oblique noun phrase and the Agent is the absolutive noun phrase which is cross-referenced on the verb with the affix *ga-*, as in example 8 (cf. example 1).

	VERB	ABS	OBL			OBL		
(8)	Gabatang	kanen	ta	bulak	an	naan	ta	lamisa.
	ga=batang	kanen	ta	bulak	an	naan	ta	lamisa
	ACT,AG,R=put	3,SG,ABS	OBL	flower	DEF,M	SPAT.DEF	OBL	table

'He put the flower on the table.'

Similarly, an antipassive construction can be formed from a perception or cognition transitive clause by demoting the Theme; the Location is the absolutive which is cross-referenced on the verb with the affix *ga-*, as in example 9 (cf. example 6).

	VERB	ABS	OBL			
(9)	Gamati	kanen	ta	ambal	ta	pari.
	ga=mati	kanen	ta	ambal	ta	pari
	ACT,LOC,R=hear	3,SG,ABS	OBL	say	GEN	priest

'He heard what the priest said.'

A passive construction can be formed from a transitive clause by deleting the Agent and the Theme is the absolutive noun phrase. Deletion of the Agent is obligatory. The Kagayanen passive is a non-morphological passive in that the verb does not take stative affixes. Rather, the verb in a passive clause takes the same affixes as it does when it occurs in a transitive clause.

	VERB	ABS			OBL		
(10)	Pabatang	en	bulak	an	naan	ta	lamisa.
	pa=batang	en	bulak	an	naan	ta	lamisa
	ACT,TH,R=put	CM	flower	DEF,M	SPAT,DEF	OBL	table

'The flowers were put on the table.'

An applicative[5] construction can be formed from an active transitive clause by promoting the Location to the absolutive noun phrase which is cross-referenced on the verb with the affix *pa--an*. The Agent is the ergative noun phrase and the Theme is demoted to the oblique noun phrase, as in examples 11 and 12.

	VERB	ERG	ABS	
(11)	Paambalan	din	yaken	i
	pa=ambal=an	din	yaken	i
	ACT,LOC,R=say=___	3,SG,ERG	1,SG,ABS,EMPH	DEF,N

OBL			
ta	dayad	na	isturya.
ta	dayad	na	isturya
OBL	good	LK	story

'He told me a good story.'

	VERB	ERG	ABS		OBL	
(12)	Pabatangan	din	lamisa	an	ta	bulak.
	pa=batang=an	din	lamisa	an	ta	bulak
	ACT,LOC,R=put=___	3,SG,ERG	table	DEF,M	OBL	flower

'He put some flowers on the table.'

An applicative construction can also be formed by promoting the Beneficiary, i.e. a nonnuclear Location, to the absolutive and demoting the Theme, as in example 13 (cf. example 3).

	VERB	ERG		ABS			
(13)	Pauturan	ta	mama	silingan	din	an	
	pa=utod=an	ta	mama	silingan	din	an	
	ACT,LOC,R=cut=___	ERG	man	neighbor	3,SG,GEN	DEF,M	

OBL	
ta	kaoy.
ta	kaoy
OBL	wood

'The man cut some wood for his neighbor.'

[5] The term "applicative" is used for a construction in which an underlying oblique argument is promoted to the absolutive (see Trask 1993:18–19).

1.1.4. Transitive Clauses with Derived Transitive Verbs

A transitive clause (example 14) can have a verb derived from an intransitive verb (example 15) with the verbal affix *pa-*[6] which cross-references an absolutive Theme.

	VERB	ERG	ABS		OBL			
(14)	Pasakay	din	karton	an	naan	ta	pambot	ya.
	pa=sakay	din	karton	an	naan	ta	pambot	ya
	ACT,TH,R=ride	3,SG,ERG	box	DEF,M	SPAT,DEF	OBL	pumpboat	DEF,F

'He put the box on the pumpboat.'

	VERB	ABS		OBL			
(15)	Gasakay	kanen	an	naan	ta	pambot	ya.
	ga=sakay	kanen	an	naan	ta	pambot	ya
	ACT,TH,R=ride	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	SPAT,DEF	OBL	pumpboat	DEF,F

'He rode the pumpboat.'

An applicative transitive clause can be derived from all the different types of intransitive clauses (see section 1.2 for intransitive clauses) with the verbal affix *pa- -an*. With intransitive motion verbs (example 16) and bodily process verbs (example 17) the oblique Location is promoted to the absolutive noun phrase and is cross-referenced with *pa- -an* and the Theme is the ergative noun phrase.

	VERB	ERG	ABS	
(16)	Patakasan	din	uma	ya.
	pa=takas=an	din	uma	ya
	ACT,LOC,R=ascend=___	3,SG,ERG	field	DEF,F

'He ascended to the field.'

	VERB	ERG		ABS	
(17)	Pabaanan	ta	bata	yaken	i.
	pa=baan=an	ta	bata	yaken	i
	ACT,LOC,R=sneeze=___	ERG	child	1,SG,ABS,EMPH	DEF,N

'The child sneezed on me.'

With some intransitive activity verbs (example 18), a Theme is cross-referenced with *pa- -an* and an Agent is the ergative noun phrase. The Theme is not totally affected by the action of the verb.

	VERB	ERG	ABS		
(18)	Pasayawan	din	nanay	din	an.
	pa=sayaw=an	din	nanay	din	an
	ACT,TH,R=dance=___	3,SG,ERG	mother	3,SG,GEN	DEF,M

'She danced for her mother.'

[6] Note that *pa-* often has an underlying causative meaning but this is not reflected in the glosses in this paper and the other Kagayanen studies in this volume.

With some stative verbs (example 19), some process verbs (example 20), some meteorological verbs (example 21) and some emotion verbs (example 22) the Theme is cross-referenced with *pa- -an*; and an Agent is the ergative noun phrase and the nuclear Location is covert.

	VERB	ERG	ABS	
(19)	Paitaan	din	gulay	an.
	pa=ita=an	din	gulay	an
	ACT,TH,R=soft=___	3,SG,ERG	vegetables	DEF,F

'He softened the vegetables.'

	VERB	ERG	ABS	
(20)	Pasikalan	din	waig	an.
	pa=sikal=an	din	waig	an
	ACT,TH,R=boil=___	3,SG,ERG	water	DEF,M

'She boiled the water.'

	VERB	ERG	ABS		
(21)	Paadlawan	din	bayo	din	an.
	pa=adlaw=an	din	bayo	din	an
	ACT,TH,R=sun=___	3,SG,ERG	clothes	3,SG,GEN	DEF,M

'He put his clothes in the sun.'

	VERB	ERG	ABS	
(22)	Paadlekan	din	ayam	an.
	pa=adlek=an	din	ayam	an.
	ACT,TH,R=afraid=___	3,SG,ERG	dog	DEF,M

'He made the dog afraid.'

1.2. Intransitive Clauses

An intransitive clause has only one obligatory argument, Theme or Agent, which is the initiator of the action in active intransitive clauses and which is the experiencer or Theme in stative and process clauses. The argument is covert with meteorological clauses.

1.2.1. Active Intransitive Clauses

There are two types of active intransitive clauses, intransitive clause with a motion verb (section 1.2.1.1) and with an activity verb (section 1.2.1.2). The one obligatory argument with the intransitive motion clause is Theme and with the intransitive activity clause is Agent.

1.2.1.1. Intransitive Clause with Intransitive Motion Verb

The unmarked form of a semantically intransitive motion verb (example 23) occurs in an intransitive clause in which the Theme is the absolutive noun phrase and is cross-referenced on the verb by the affix *ga-*, and the Location is an oblique noun phrase. In such a representation, the Theme is characterized as inherently suited to the action of the verb, in the sense that the Theme appears to be designed to participate in the action. Also,

the Theme and the Location have a GOTO orientation: that is, the Theme moves toward the Location.

	VERB		ABS		OBL	
(23)	Gatakas	en	kanen	an	ta	bungyod.
	ga=takas	en	kanen	an	ta	bungyod
	ACT,TH,R=ascend	CM	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	OBL	hill

'He ascended a hill.'

1.2.1.2. Intransitive Activity Clause

The unmarked form of an activity verb (example 24) occurs in an intransitive clause in which the Agent is the absolutive noun phrase and is cross-referenced on the verb with the verbal affix *ga-* and the Theme is the oblique noun phrase which is optional. The nuclear Location is covert. The Agent, Theme and Location have a CAUSE GOTO orientation: that is, the Agent causes the Theme to move toward the Location, e.g. state of being sung in example 24.

	VERB	ABS	OBL			
(24)	Gakanta	kanen	ta	dayad	na	kanta.
	ga=kanta	kanen	ta	dayad	na	kanta
	ACT,AG,R=sing	3,SG,ABS	OBL	good	LK	song

'He sang a good song.'

1.2.2. Stative Intransitive Clause

The unmarked form of a stative verb (example 25) occurs in an intransitive clause in which the Theme is the absolutive noun phrase and is cross-referenced on the verb by the affix *na-* and the nuclear Location is covert. The Theme and Location have an AT orientation: that is, the Theme is at the Location.

	VERB	ABS	
(25)	Napatay	kanen	ya.
	na=patay	kanen	ya
	STAT,TH,R=die	3,SG,ABS	DEF,F

'He is dead.'

1.2.3. Process Intransitive Clause

The unmarked form of a process verb (example 26) or a bodily process verb (example 27) occurs in an intransitive clause in which the Theme is the absolutive noun phrase and is cross-referenced on the verb by the affix *ga-*; the nuclear Location is covert. (The oblique noun phrase in 26 is an optional nonnuclear Location.) The Theme and Location have a GOTO orientation: that is, the Theme goes to the Location.

	VERB		ABS		OBL		
(26)	Gatunaw	en	asin	ya	naan	ta	waig.
	ga=tunaw	en	asin	ya	naan	ta	waig
	ACT,TH,R=dissolve	CM	salt	DEF,F	SPAT,DEF	OBL	water

'The salt has dissolved in the water.'

	VERB	ABS	
(27)	Gabaan	bata	ya.
	ga=baan	bata	ya
	ACT,TH,R=sneeze	child	DEF,F

'The child sneezed.'

1.2.4. Meteorological Intransitive Clause

The unmarked form of a meteorological verb occurs in an intransitive clause in which the nuclear Theme and nuclear Location are covert, and the verbal affix is *ga-*, as in example 28.

	VERB	
(28)	Galinaw	en.
	ga=linaw	en
	ACT,R=calm	CM

'It is calm now/became calm.'

1.2.5. Emotion Intransitive Clause

The unmarked form of emotion verbs (example 29) occurs in an intransitive clause in which the Theme is the absolutive noun phrase and is cross-referenced on the verb by the affix *na- -an*; the oblique noun phrase is an optional nonnuclear Agent. The nuclear Location is covert. The Theme and the Location have an AT orientation: that is, the Theme is at the Location.

	VERB	ABS		OBL		
(29)	Nasadyaan	kanen	an	ta	atag	ya.
	na=sadya=an	kanen	an	ta	atag	ya
	STAT,TH,R=happy=___	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	OBL	gift	DEF,F

'He is very happy with the gift.'

1.2.6. Intransitive Clauses with Derived Intransitive Verbs

Some perception verbs (example 30) and adjectives (examples 31–32) can occur in an intransitive clause which is the same as the emotion intransitive clause in form (section 1.2.5) and has the same meaning — that the Theme feels something. The Theme is the absolutive noun phrase and is cross-referenced on the derived intransitive verb with the affix *na- -an*. A nonnuclear Agent occurs in the oblique phrase.

	VERB	ABS	OBL			
(30)	Nalasaan	kanen	ta	tama	na	luy-a
	na=lasa=an	kanen	ta	tama	na	luy-a
	STAT,TH,R=taste=___	3,SG,ABS	OBL	many	LK	ginger

naan	ta	gulay.
naan	ta	gulay
SPAT	OBL	vegetables

'He experienced a (strong) taste from the large quantity of ginger in the vegetables.'

(31)

VERB	ABS		OBL	
Natignawan	kanen	an	ta	uran.
na=tignaw=an	kanen	an	ta	uran
STAT,TH,R=cold=___	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	OBL	rain

'He felt cold from the rain.'

(32)

VERB	ABS		OBL		
Nalayugan	kanen	an	ta	mama	ya.
na=layog=an	kanen	an	ta	mama	ya
ACT,TH,R=tall=___	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	OBL	man	DEF,F

'He felt the man was very tall. (Lit: He felt tallness by the man.)'

Some stative verbs (example 33), process verbs (example 34), meteorological verbs (example 35), causative verbs (example 36), and activity verbs (example 37) occur in an intransitive clause which is similar in form to the intransitive clause examples in 30–32 except that the meaning is that something happened to the Theme, which is usually a person, and caught him/her off guard. The Theme is the absolutive noun phrase and is cross-referenced on the derived intransitive verb with the affix *na--an*. A nonnuclear Agent occurs (except with meteorological verbs) in the oblique phrase.

(33)

VERB	ABS		OBL	
Napatayan	kanen	an	ta	pambot.
na=patay=an	kanen	an	ta	pambot
STAT,TH,R,APT=die=___	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	OBL	pumpboat

'The pumpboat died on him.'

(34)

VERB	ABS		OBL	
Natunawan	kanen	an	ta	asin.
na=tunaw=an	kanen	an	ta	asin
STAT,TH,R,APT=dissolve=___	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	OBL	salt

'The salt dissolved on him.'

(35)

VERB	ABS	
Naadlawan	kanen	an.
na=adlaw=an	kanen	an
STAT,TH,R,APT=sun=___	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M

'He was caught in the sunshine.'

(36)

VERB	ABS		OBL	
Nasamaran	kanen	an	ta	bisikil.
na=samad=an	kanen	an	ta	bisikil
STAT,TH,R,APT=break=___	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	OBL	bicycle

'The bicycle broke on him.'

	VERB	ABS		OBL	
(37)	Nakan-anan	kanen	an	ta	sidda.
	na=kan-an=an	kanen	an	ta	sidda
	STAT,TH,R=eat=___	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	OBL	fish

'The fish ate (the bait) on him."

2. Nonverbal Clauses

A nonverbal clause is constructed of a topic and a comment. The topic is a noun phrase and the comment has a variety of structures depending on the clause type.

2.1. Equative Clauses

Equative clauses are constructed of two phrases juxtaposed; the first is the comment and the second the topic. This order can be switched for emphasis. The topic noun phrase in an equative clause is definite and has no case marker. If the topic noun phrase is a pronoun it can occur after the first word in the comment making the comment a discontinuous noun phrase.

2.1.1. Descriptive Clause

The comment of a descriptive clause (example 38) is an adjective or adjective phrase.

	COMMENT		TOPIC		
(38)	Sikad	langkaw	iya	na	baba.
	sikad	langkaw	iya	na	baba
	very	long	3,SG,POSS	LK	mouth

'His (a fish's) mouth is very long.'

2.1.2. Identification Clause

The comment of an identification clause (example 39) is a noun phrase.

	COMMENT	TOPIC			
(39)	Blangay	ame	i	na	sakayan.
	blangay	ame	i	na	sakayan
	sailboat	3,PL,EX,POSS	DEF,N	LK	conveyance

'Our conveyance is a sailboat.'

2.1.3. Location Clause

The comment of a location clause (example 40) is a prepositional phrase that has an oblique marker.

	COMMENT			TOPIC		
(40)	Naan	ta	Manila	sawa	ko	ya.
	naan	ta	Manila	sawa	ko	ya
	SPAT,DEF	OBL	Manila	spouse	1,SG,GEN	DEF,F

'My spouse is in Manila.'

2.1.4. Possessive Clause

The comment of a possessive clause (example 41) is a possessive pronoun or possessive phrase.

	COMMENT				TOPIC		
(41)	Iya	ta	magulang	ko	yon	na	balay.
	iya	ta	magulang	ko	yon	na	balay
	3,SG,POSS	GEN	older.sibling	1,SG,GEN	D3,DEM,ABS,G	LK	house

'That house is my older sibling's.'

2.1.5. Thematic Clause

The comment of a thematic[7] clause has a prepositional phrase with the thematic preposition word either *parti* 'about' or *tenged* 'about/because'. The unmarked order is comment–topic (example 42), but the marked order topic–comment occurs frequently since it functions to introduce the theme of a discourse (example 43).

	COMMENT			TOPIC		
(42)	Parti	ta	sidda	yi	na	libro.
	parti	ta	sidda	yi	na	libro
	about	OBL	fish	D1,DEM,ADJ,G	LK	book

'This book is about fish.'

	TOPIC		COMMENT				
(43)	Isturya	nai	parti	ta	patay	na	ittaw.
	isturya	nai	parti	ta	patay	na	ittaw
	story	D1,DEM,ADJ	about	OBL	dead	LK	person

'This story is about a dead person.'

2.2. Existential Clauses

Existential clauses are constructed of a comment which has an existential word *may* 'existential.indefinite' and/or *anen* 'existential.definite' followed by the topic noun phrase.

[7] "Thematic clause" is used here in the sense that the comment part of the clause names the theme or topic of the whole discourse. "Referential clause" would also be appropriate but has been avoided since "referentiality" of participants and props, a totally different concept, is an important term in these papers.

2.2.1. Indefinite Existential Clauses

There are three types of indefinite existential clauses, the basic (section 2.2.1.1), the possessive (section 2.2.1.2), and the possessive with an embedded verbal clause (section 2.2.1.3). The comments of all indefinite existential clauses have the indefinite existential word *may* and the topics are all unidentifiable. The topic can be either a count noun or a mass noun.

2.2.1.1. Basic Indefinite Existential Clause

The basic indefinite existential clause (example 44) is constructed of a comment with the existential word *may* followed by a topic. The topic can have an optional relative clause (example 45). This existential clause has two functions: to state the existence or presence of something/someone (example 43) or to introduce an unidentifiable participant/prop (example 44). When participants/props are introduced, the relative clause must occur with the existential clause. The existential clause with a relative clause may be shortened by deletion of the head noun (example 46). This clause functions to introduce indefinite minor participants/props whose identity is unknown to the narrator.

	COMMENT	TOPIC	
(44)	May	apoy	pa.
	may	apoy	pa
	EXT.INDEF	fire	INC

'There is still a fire.'

	COMMENT	TOPIC	RELATIVE CLAUSE				
(45)	May	manakem	na	gatindeg	naan	ta	gangaan.
	may	manakem	na	ga=tindeg	naan	ta	gangaan
	EXT.INDEF	elderly.person	LK	ACT,TH,R=stand	SPAT,DEF	OBL	doorway

'There was an elderly person standing in the doorway.'

	COMMENT	TOPIC			
(46)	May	gatindeg	naan	ta	gangaan.
	may	ga=tindeg	naan	ta	gangaan
	EXT.INDEF	ACT,TH,R=stand	SPAT,DEF	OBL	doorway

'Someone was standing in the doorway.' (Lit: 'There was someone standing in the doorway.')

When an existential clause is embedded in a Location (oblique) noun phrase and a definite common noun is the topic of the existential clause, then it means the place where the common noun is located (example 47). When the topic of the embedded existential is a time, location or distance, then it means an indefinite time, location or distance (example 48).

				COMMENT	TOPIC	
(47)	Gabalik	a	ta	*may*	*bangkaw*	*ya.*
	ga=balik	a	ta	may	bangkaw	ya
	ACT,TH,R=return	1,SG,ABS	OBL	EXT.INDEF	spear	DEF,F

'I returned to *where the spear was.*'

	COMMENT	TOPIC							
(48)	*May*	*isya*	*na*	*kilem*	na	sikad	pawa	bulan	an,
	may	isya	na	kilem	na	sikad	pawa	bulan	an
	EXT.INDEF	certain	LK	night	when	very	bright	moon	DEF,M

gapasyar	uyi	na	patay.
ga=pasyar	uyi	na	patay
ACT,TH,R=stroll	D1,DEM,ADJ,EMPH,G	LK	dead

'*On a certain night* when the moon was very bright, this dead person was strolling.'

2.2.1.2. Indefinite Possessive Existential Clause

An indefinite possessive existential clause is constructed of a comment which has the existential word *may* followed by a noun phrase which is an indefinite possessed thing. The topic is the possessor and it can be fronted for emphasis. This clause can function as a statement of possession (example 49), part–whole relationship (example 50), human relationship (example 51) and sickness (example 52).

	COMMENT		TOPIC	
(49)	May	tirador	a	di.
	may	tirador	a	di
	EXT.INDEF	slingshot	1,SG,ABS	D1,A,G

'I have a slingshot here.'

	COMMENT				TOPIC			
(50)	May	bunga	man	en	ake	i	na	saging.
	may	bunga	man	en	ake	i	na	saging
	EXT.INDEF	fruit	also	CM	1,SG,POSS	DEF,N	LK	banana

'My banana plant also has fruit already.'

	COMMENT		TOPIC	
(51)	May	sawa	danen	tanan.
	may	sawa	danen	tanan
	EXT.INDEF	spouse	3,PL,ABS	all

'All of them have spouses.'

	COMMENT		TOPIC	
(52)	May	swalen	yaken	i.
	may	swalen	yaken	i
	EXT.INDEF	chicken.pox	1,SG,ABS	DEF,N

'I have chicken pox.'

2.2.1.3. Indefinite Possessive Existential Clause with an Embedded Verbal Clause

This clause consists of a comment that has an existential word *may* followed by an embedded verbal clause which has an embedded relative clause. The Theme of the embedded clause is in the relative clause. The embedded verbal clause is always transitive and the verbal affix cross-references the Theme or Location. The topic noun phrase usually occurs between the verbal clause and its embedded relative clause, but it can be fronted. This topic noun phrase is the initiator or the experiencer of the action in the embedded

verbal clause. This construction introduces props (example 53), usually major ones (example 54).

	COMMENT			TOPIC	COMMENT	
(53)	May	dala	man	kanen	na	bayo.
	may	dala[8]	man	kanen	na	bayo
	EXT.INDEF	carry	also	3,SG,ABS	LK	shirt

'He was carrying a shirt.' (Lit: 'There was something he was carrying which was a shirt.')

	COMMENT		TOPIC	COMMENT			
(54)	May	nakita	kay	na	isya	na	yupan.
	may	na=kita	kay	na	isya	na	yupan
	EXT.INDEF	STAT,TH,R=see	1,PL,EX,ABS	LK	certain	LK	bird

'We saw a certain bird.' (Lit: 'There was something we saw which was a certain bird.')

2.2.2. Definite Nonspecific Existential Clauses

There are two types of definite nonspecific existential clauses, basic (section 2.2.2.1) and possessive (section 2.2.2.2). The comment has both of the existential words, *may* and *anen*. The topic is definite but nonspecific and must be a count noun.

2.2.2.1. Basic Definite Nonspecific Existential Clause

A definite nonspecific existential clause states the existence or presence of a definite but nonspecific reference, as in example 55. The topic may have an optional relative clause.

	COMMENT		TOPIC						
(55)	May	anen	ittaw	na	naan	ta	dalem	ta	silong.
	may	anen	ittaw	na	naan	ta	dalem	ta	silong
	EXT.INDEF	EXT.DEF	person	LK	SPAT,DEF	OBL	below	OBL	yard

'There is someone below in the yard.'

2.2.2.2. Definite Possessive Nonspecific Existential Clause

In a definite possessive nonspecific existential clause the topic noun phrase splits the comment making it discontinuous, as in example 56.

	COMMENT		TOPIC	COMMENT		
(56)	May	anen	a	bayo	na	dayad.
	may	anen	a	bayo	na	dayad
	EXT.INDEF	EXT.DEF	1,SG,ABS	clothes	LK	pretty

'I have a piece of clothing that is pretty.'

[8] Sometimes the verbal affix cross-referencing the absolutive noun phrase is omitted in natural texts, which is the case here.

2.2.3. Definite Specific Existential Clause

A definite specific existential clause has the definite existential word *anen* in its comment with an optional location phrase and the topic is a definite and specific noun phrase. The clause states the presence of a definite and specific referent, as in examples 57–58. There is no definite possessive specific existential clause.

	COMMENT	TOPIC		COMMENT				
(57)	Anen	manong	ko	naan	ta	dalem	ta	silong.
	anen	manong	ko	naan	ta	dalem	ta	silong
	EXT.DEF	older.brother	1,SG,GEN	SPAT,DEF	OBL	below	OBL	yard

'My older brother is here below in the yard.'

	COMMENT			TOPIC				
(58)	Anen	ki	kanen	balpin	no	an	na	pangita
	anen	ki	kanen	balpin	no	an	na	pangita
	EXT.DEF	OBL.P	3,SG,OBL	ballpoint	2,SG,GEN	DEF,M	LK	look.for

no.
no
2,SG,ERG

'The ballpoint pen that you are looking for is there with him.'

2.3. Cleft Constructions

A cleft construction in Kagayanen consists of a noun phrase followed by a relative clause, as in example 59.

	NOUN PHRASE			RELATIVE CLAUSE			
(59)	Bakod	na	balay	na	nakita	ko	gina.
	balod	na	balay	na	na=kita	ko	gina
	big	LK	house	LK	STAT,TH,R=see	1,SG,ERG	earlier

'(It's) a big house that I saw earlier./A big house is what I saw earlier.'

In addition, a cleft construction can consist of a single noun phrase, as in example 60.

(60)	Bakod	na	balay.
	bakod	na	balay
	big	LK	house

'(It's) a big thing which is a house.'

3. Subordinate Clauses

There are four types of subordinate clauses: circumstantial (section 3.1), reason (section 3.2), purpose (section 3.3), and relative (section 3.4). Usually the subordinate clause follows the main clause but for emphasis it may be fronted.

3.1. Circumstantial Clause

There are two circumstantial clause constructions. A basic circumstantial clause is constructed of *na* 'when' followed by a verbal clause or nonverbal clause, as in example 61.

(61)

MAIN CLAUSE					
Natubuan		kanen	i	ta	masakit
na=tubo=an		kanen	i	ta	masakit
STAT,LOC,R=grow=___		3,SG,ABS	DEF,N	OBL	sickness

CIRCUMSTANTIAL CLAUSE								
na	kanen	2[9]	nang	pa	duminggo	idad	din	an.
na	kanen	2	nang	pa	duminggo	idad	din	an
when	3,SG,ABS	two	only	INC	week	age	3,SG,GEN	DEF,M

'He got sick when he was just two weeks old.'

A circumstantial clause constructed with the gerund affix *pag-* occurs after background or collateral information in order to get back to the main event line of the story. This type of circumstantial clause must occur before the main clause, as in example 62.

(62)

CIRCUMSTANTIAL CLAUSE			MAIN CLAUSE		
*Pag*papawa	man	en,	pasugo	ko	bata
pag=CV=pawa	man	en	pa=sugo	ko	bata
GER=DIM=bright	also	CM	ACT,TH,R=sent	1,SG,ERG	child

ko	i.
ko	i
1,SG,GEN	DEF,N

'When it had begun to dawn, I sent my child (on an errand).'

3.2. Reason Clause or Phrase

A reason clause is constructed of the conjunction *tak* 'because' followed by a verbal clause (example 63) or *tenged na* followed by a nonverbal clause. A reason phrase begins with the preposition *tenged* 'because of, concerning', followed by a noun phrase (example 64).

(63)

MAIN CLAUSE				
Gapit	kay	anay	ta	dawisan
ga=apit	kay	anay	ta	dawisan
ACT,TH,R=stop.off	1,PL,EX,ABS	first	OBL	tip.of.island

[9] As it appears in the text written by the author.

REASON CLAUSE

tak	ganampara	pa	mga	gurmiti	ta	sid-anan.
tak	gang=tampara	pa	mga	gurmiti	ta	sid-anan
because	ACT,AG,R,RP=spearfish	INC	PLM	crew	OBL	viand

'We stopped off first at the tip of the island because the crew went spearfishing for their viand.'

(64)

MAIN CLAUSE				REASON PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE		
Gabalik	patay	na	ittaw	*tenged*	ta	iya
ga=balik	patay	na	ittaw	tenged	ta	iya
ACT,TH,R=return	dead	LK	person	because	OBL	3,SG,POSS

na	mga	bata.
na	mga	bata
LK	PLM	child

'The dead person returned because of her children.'

3.3. Purpose Clause or Phrase

A purpose clause is constructed of *aged* 'so that' followed by an irrealis clause (example 65). A purpose phrase begins with the preposition *para* 'for' followed by a noun phrase (example 66).

(65)

MAIN CLAUSE

Giling	kay	naan	ta	bukid
ga=iling	kay	naan	ta	bukid
ACT,TH,R=go	1,PL,EX,ABS	SPAT,DEF	OBL	mountain

PURPOSE CLAUSE

aged	mangita	kay	ta	ame
aged	mang=ngita	kay	ta	ame
so.that	ACT,AG,IRR,RP=look	1,PL,EX,ABS	OBL	1,PL,EX,POSS

na	kan-anen.
na	kaan=en
LK	eat=ACT,TH,IRR

'We went to the mountain so that we will look for something to eat.'

(66)

MAIN CLAUSE				PURPOSE PREPOSITIONAL PHRASE		
Galuto	a	ta	suman	*para*	ta	pista.
ga=luto	a	ta	suman	para	ta	pista.
ACT,AG,R=cook	1,SG,ABS	OBL	sticky.rice	PURP	OBL	fiesta

'I cooked sticky rice for the fiesta.'

3.4. Serial Verbs

A serial verb construction with equi-NP deletion can occur with verbs such as 'leave' and 'want.' The linker *na* is followed by an irrealis verb as in example 67.

	MAIN CLAUSE			PURPOSE CLAUSE	
(67)	Gapanaw	kanen	ya	*na*	muli.
	ga=panaw	kanen	ya	na	m=uli
	ACT,TH,R=go	3,SG,ABS	DEF,F	LK	ACT,TH,IRR=go.home

'He left to go home.'

3.5. Relative Clause

A relative clause is constructed of the linker *na* followed by a clause either verbal or nonverbal. There is zero reference in the relative clause to the head noun in the main clause, but the affix of the verb in the relative clause cross-references the head noun. This affix may cross-reference any of the roles. It can cross-reference the Theme of an intransitive clause, as in example 68; Agent, as in example 69; Theme of a transitive clause, as in example 70; or Location, as in example 71.

				RELATIVE CLAUSE			
(68)	Ake	na	magulang	*na*	*giling*	*di*	*gibii*
	ake	na	magulang	na	ga=iling	di	gibii
	1,SG,POSS	LK	older.sibling	LK	ACT,TH,R=go	D1,A,G	yesterday

MAIN CLAUSE	
galarga	gina.
ga=larga	gina
ACT,TH,R=depart	earlier

'My older sibling *who came here yesterday* left on a trip earlier.'

				RELATIVE CLAUSE		
(69)	Ake	na	magulang	*na*	*gakaan*	*unti*
	ake	na	magulang	na	ga=kaan	unti
	1,SG,POSS	LK	older.sibling	LK	ACT,AG,R=eat	D1,A,SP

	MAIN CLAUSE	
gibii	galarga	gina.
gibii	ga=larga	gina
yesterday	ACT,TH,R=depart	earlier

'My older sibling *who ate here yesterday* left on a trip earlier.'

				RELATIVE CLAUSE		
(70)	Ake	na	magulang	*na*	*patiro*	*no*
	ake	na	magulang	na	pa=tiro	no
	1,SG,POSS	LK	older.sibling	LK	ACT,TH,R=hit	2,SG,ERG

	MAIN CLAUSE	
gibii	galarga	gina.
gibii	ga=larga	gina
yesterday	ACT,TH,R=depart	earlier

'My older sibling *whom you hit yesterday* left on a trip earlier.'

				RELATIVE CLAUSE		
(71)	Ake	na	magulang	*na*	*pailingan*	*nay*
	ake	na	magulang	na	pa=iling=an	nay
	1,SG,POSS	LK	older.sibling	LK	ACT,LOC,R=go=___	1,PL,EX,ERG

MAIN CLAUSE		
gibii,	galarga	gina.
gibii	ga=larga	gina
yesterday	ACT,TH,R=depart	earlier

'My older sibling *whom we went to yesterday* left on a trip earlier.'

4. Negative Constructions

Kagayanen has two negative markers: *ula* and *dili*. *Ula* negates realis clauses (example 72); it also occurs in negative existential clauses (example 73). When the negative markers occur on verbal clauses the initiator of the action whether an absolutive of an intransitive clause or ergative noun phrase of a transitive clause is fronted, as in example 72.[10]

(72)	*Ula*	din	pabetang	bulak	an	naan	ta	lamisa.
	ula	din	pa=betang	bulak	an	naan	ta	lamisa
	NEG	3,SG,ERG	ACT,TH,R=put	flower	DEF,M	SPAT,DEF	OBL	table

'He did not put the flower on the table.'

Usually the existential words *may* and/or *anen* are deleted when *ula* negates an existential clause (example 73). However, the basic existential clause with a relative clause as the topic (example 74) and the possessive existential clause with an embedded verbal clause (example 75) when negated retain *may*. Both a negated indefinite existential clause and a negated definite nonspecific existential clause are the same in structure since the topic is nonreferential.

(73)	*Ula*	apoy	en.
	ula	apoy	en
	NEG	fire	CM

'There is no fire now.'

	COMMENT	TOPIC				
(74)	*Ula*	*may*	gatindeg	naan	ta	gangaan.
	ula	may	ga=tindeg	naan	ta	gangaan
	NEG	EXT.INDEF	ACT,TH,R=stand	SPAT,DEF	OBL	doorway

'No one was standing in the doorway.' (Lit: 'There was no one standing in the doorway.')

[10] Certain morphemes, such as negatives and sentence-initial adverbs, attract enclitics to the second position. Discussion of this is beyond the scope of this paper.

	COMMENT			TOPIC	RELATIVE CLAUSE	
(75)	*Ula*	*may*	nakita	Akay	na	yupan.
	ula	may	na=kita	Akay	na	yupan
	NEG	EXT,INDEF	ACT,TH,R=see	Akay	LK	bird

'Akay did not see a bird.' (Lit: 'There was nothing Akay saw that was a bird.')

Dili negates irrealis clauses (example 76), equative clauses (example 77), thematic clauses (example 78), and nominals cross-referenced on the verb (examples 79–81). With equative clauses (example 76) and the thematic clause (example 77) the negative marker can occur only in the comment.

(76)	*Dili*	din	betangen	bulak	an	naan	ta	lamisa.
	dili	din	betang=en	bulak	an	naan	ta	lamisa
	NEG	3,SG,ERG	put=ACT,TH,IRR	flower	DEF,M	SPAT,DEF	OBL	table

'He will not put the flower on the table.'

	COMMENT			TOPIC		
(77)	*Dili*	sikad	langkaw	iya	na	baba.
	dili	sikad	langkaw	iya	na	baba
	NEG	very	long	3,SG,POSS	LK	mouth

'His (a fish's) mouth is not very long.'

	TOPIC		COMMENT					
(78)	Isturya	nai	*dili*	parti	ta	patay	na	ittaw.
	isturya	nai	dili	parti	ta	patay	na	ittaw
	story	D1,DEM,ADJ	NEG	about	OBL	dead	LK	person

'This story is not about a dead person.'

(79)	*Dili*	kanen	gabetang	ta	bulak	an	naan
	dili	kanen	ga=betang	ta	bulak	an	naan
	NEG	3,SG,ABS	ACT,AG,R=put	OBL	flower	DEF,M	SPAT,DEF

ta	lamisa.
ta	lamisa
OBL	table

'He was not the one who put the flower on the table.'

(80)	*Dili*	bulak	pabetang	din	naan	ta	lamisa.
	dili	bulak	pa=betang	din	naan	ta	lamisa
	NEG	flower	ACT,TH,R=put	3,SG,ERG	SPAT,DEF	OBL	table

'It was not the flower he put on the table.'

(81)	*Dili*	lamisa	pabetangan	din	ta	bulak	an.
	dili	lamisa	pa=betang=an	din	ta	bulak	an
	NEG	table	ACT,LOC,R=put=___	3,SG,ERG	OBL	flower	DEF,M

'It was not the table where he put the flower.'

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Participant Reference in Kagayanen

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Summer Institute of Linguistics

0. Introduction

This paper describes how participants are referred to in Kagayanen narratives, including how they are introduced initially and referred to subsequently.[1] The basis of this study is twenty narrative texts chosen for their naturalness, length and narrator so that there would be a variety of narrator style. Ten of the texts are biographies or narrations of contemporary happenings and ten are traditional narratives.[2] Of the biographies, five were written at a writers' workshop on Cagayancillo and five were narrated and recorded on magnetic tape in response to requests for Kagayanen stories. Of the traditional narratives, three were written at the same writers' workshop, two were written in response to requests for Kagayanen stories, three were narrated in response to a request for Kagayanen stories, and two were told to two Kagayanen pre-school-age children. Each text is long enough to illustrate the progression of referencing of a variety of participants and the progression of a plot. There are ten different narrators of these stories with seven different narrators for the biographies and six for the traditional ones.

In order to select the texts to be studied I asked my language assistant, a Kagayanen woman in her mid twenties, to read many narrative texts. This woman had no prior knowledge of these stories. After she read each one I asked her to classify it either as a contemporary happening or a traditional story. Then I picked ten of the best from each of the two classes. The language assistant read each narrative again and I asked her what happened in the story so that she would get it well in mind. Then I went through a list of participants and props asking the language assistant if each one was important to the story or not. On the basis of the assistant's responses to these questions, the participants and props were grouped for analysis into major participants, minor participants, major props and minor props. Chart 1 shows the number of participants and props classified by the language assistant.

[1] An early draft of this paper was written at a discourse workshop led by Thomas and Doris Payne in August 1990 at the Summer Institute of Linguistics' southern center in the Philippines, Nasuli. I am deeply indebted to Doris Payne for her help and suggestions. Mary Ruth Wise made many helpful suggestions during the preparation of this present version. I am also grateful to Louise MacGregor and Jacqueline Huggins for their helpful comments on the examples; any errors remaining are mine.

[2] The texts were collected by Louise MacGregor and Jacqueline Huggins.

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Chart 1. Number of participants and props in the narratives

	Biographies	Traditional narratives	Totals
Major Participants	18	22	40
Major Props	3	3	6
Minor Participants	56	14	70
Minor Props	84	49	133

In section 1 we will see that the first mention of major participants and major props is the most distinct. In biographies major participants are more frequently introduced in the first sentence as initiators of the action in verbal clauses either as Agent of a transitive clause or Theme of an active intransitive clause and in traditional narratives in prepositional phrases in thematic nonverbal clauses. (See "A Sketch of Kagayanen Clause Structures," elsewhere in this volume, for a description of clause types in Kagayanen.) Major props are more frequently first mentioned in indefinite possessive existential clauses with embedded verbal clauses. Minor participants and minor props are first mentioned in verbal clauses anywhere in the text. Minor props occur more frequently in oblique phrases in verbal clauses. The basic pattern for subsequent references to participants is to use the weakest overt device which will enable the addressee to distinguish which participant is referred to (see section 2.1). Noun phrases are fronted at the beginning of important sections in the narrative (see section 2.4).

1. Introduction of Participants and Props

Participants and props differ in that, generally speaking, participants are animate while props are inanimate; they are also treated differently in Kagayanen stories. The major participants[3] are basically who the story is about and they occur throughout the story or a large part of the story. Both major participants and props are essential and significantly affect the plot of the story. Without one of the major participants/props the plot could not have progressed as it did. In contrast minor participants/props are not essential to the plot and they appear momentarily.

In section 1.1 identifiable and unidentifiable participants and props are discussed. Section 1.2 describes the introduction of major participants; section 1.3 the introduction of minor participants; section 1.4 the introduction of major props; and section 1.5 the introduction of minor props.

[3] This study does not distinguish between central major participants and noncentral major ones.

1.1. Identifiable and Unidentifiable Participants and Props

Participants and props can also be categorized as identifiable or unidentifiable. Identifiable participants and props are referentially accessible to the narrator and the addressee. They are referred to, both in their introduction and subsequent reference, with definite noun phrases. These may be noun phrases that are either inherently definite such as demonstrative or personal pronouns, proper nouns, nonspecific nouns such as ambient nouns, nouns with unique references and nouns that are part of the scenario or not inherently definite but marked for definiteness, e.g. common nouns marked with demonstrative or possessive adjectives. Definite noun phrases can be: an absolutive or a nonabsolutive noun phrase in a verbal clause, a topic noun phrase of an equative clause, a topic noun phrase of a definite existential clause, a topic noun phrase of a possessive existential clause, a fronted noun phrase in a cleft construction or a definite noun phrase in the comment of an equative clause. (For a more detailed discussion of definiteness and noun phrases see "Kagayanen Enclitic Demonstratives" elsewhere in this volume.)

Unidentifiable participants and props may be nonreferential or referential indefinite. In other words they are not accessible to the addressee. Therefore, when they are introduced they are more distinctly marked than identifiable ones. Unidentifiable participants are introduced in indefinite noun phrases. Indefinite noun phrases are nonabsolutive noun phrases such as an ergative or genitive phrase modified by the determiner *isya* 'a certain/one' (examples 1–2),[4] or an oblique phrase not marked for definiteness nor inherently definite (example 3), or a noun phrase in an indefinite existential clause (examples 4–8). Nonreferential indefinite participants and props and referential indefinite props are introduced in oblique phrases.

(1)

Pagdagsa	ta	sakong	ta	baybay	nakita
pag=dagsa	ta	sakong	ta	baybay	na=kita
GER=beach	GEN	whale	OBL	beach	STAT,TH,R=see

ta	*isya*	*man*	*na*	*mama.*
ta	isya	man	na	mama
ERG	certain	also	LK	man

'A certain (other) man saw the beaching of the whale on the shore.' (B10)[5]

(2)

...nakamati	kay	ta	kagi
naka=mati	kay	ta	kagi
ACT,AG,R,APT=hear	1,PL,EX,ABS	OBL	voice

ta	*isya*	*na*	*yupan...*
ta	isya	na	yupan
GEN	certain	LK	bird

'... we heard the voice of a certain bird...' (B9)

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[4] *Isya* has two meanings: the number 'one' and an adjective 'a certain'. It is glossed as to its meaning in a given example. *Isya* in an existential clause (not a verbal clause) marks a participant/prop as major (see example 2).

[5] The texts from which examples were taken are identified in parentheses after the translation. The letter "B" means biography and "T" traditional narrative. The numbers correspond to the numbers of the texts listed in the appendix to this paper.

(3)

Masampet		kay	ta	balay	ya,	
ma=sampet		kay	ta	balay	ya	
ACT,TH,IRR,APT=came.upon		1,PL,EX,ABS	OBL	house	DEF,F	
gainsa	kay	*ta*	*ittaw*	*ta*	balay	daw
ga=insa	kay	ta	ittaw	ta	balay	daw
ACT,AG,R=ask	1,PL,EX,ABS	OBL	person	GEN	house	if

madyo	pa	bario	danen.
madyo	pa	bario	danen
far	INC	village	3,PL,GEN

'When we came upon the house, we asked a person of the house if their village was still far away.' (B6)

Since referential indefinite participants/props cannot occur in absolutive noun phrases, they are introduced in indefinite existential clauses when their role would typically occur in an absolutive noun phrase. If the role is Theme or Agent of an intransitive verb (examples 4–5) or Agent in an antipassive construction (example 6), the clause is a basic indefinite existential clause with a relative clause; the participant introduced is the topic noun phrase. When the role is Theme of a transitive verb (example 7) or Location in an applicative construction (example 8), the clause is an indefinite possessive existential clause with an embedded verbal clause; the participant/prop is the comment noun phrase of this clause.

(4)

Na	naan	kay	ta	kambiraan	*may*	*isya*
na	naan	kay	ta	kambira=an	may	isya
when	SPAT,DEF	1,PL,EX,ABS	OBL	feast=place	EXT.INDEF	certain

na	*bai*	*na*	*gasagpon.*
na	bai	na	ga=sagpon
LK	woman	LK	ACT,TH,R=pregnant

'When we were at the feast there was a certain woman who was pregnant.' (B2)

(5)

May	mama	na	gasakay	ta	kabaw.
may	mama	na	gasakay	ta	kabaw
EXT,INDEF	man	LK	ACT,AG,R=ride	OBL	carabao

'There was a man riding a carabao.'[6]

(6)

May	isya	man	na	geles	ta	siya.
may	isya	man	na	ga=eles	ta	siya
EXT,INDEF	one	also	LK	ACT,AG,R=borrow	OBL	chair

'There was another one who borrowed a chair.' (T1)

[6] Examples 5 and 8 were elicited since there were none of these constructions in the texts used for this study.

(7)

Tapos,	may	nakita	kanen	na	ittaw.
tapos	may	na=kita	kanen	na	ittaw
then	EXT,INDEF	STAT,TH,R=see	3,SG,ABS	LK	person

'Then, he[7] saw a person.' (B7) (Lit: 'Then, there was something he saw which was a person.')

(8)

May	pasakayan	kanen	na	kabaw.
may	pa=sakay=an	kanen	na	kabaw
EXT,INDEF	ACT,LOC,R=ride__	3,SG,ABS	LK	carabao

'He rode a carabao.' (Lit: 'There was something he rode which was a carabao.')

If the narrator determines that a participant/prop is identifiable to himself but not to the addressee, the first mention may occur in a definite noun phrase with an embedded relative clause in order to help identify the participant, as in example 9.

(9)

Juan	Favila	*na*	*ame*	*na*	*lolo*
Juan	Favila	na	ame	na	lolo
Juan	Favila	LK	1,PL,EX,POSS	LK	grandfather

galarga	na	abutan	ta	bagyo.
ga=larga	na	abot=an	ta	bagyo
ACT,TH,R=travel	LK	arrive=STAT,LOC,R	OBL	typhoon

'Juan Favila, who is our grandfather, went on a trip and was overtaken by a typhoon.' (B10)

1.2. Introduction of Major Participants

The introduction of major participants in biographies will be discussed first in 1.2.1 and then their introduction in traditional narratives in 1.2.2. Only with major participants is this distinction between biographies and traditional narratives significant for the discussion of participant reference.

1.2.1. Introduction of Major Participants in Biographies

There were 18 participants classified as major in the biographies. The first mention of 13 (72%) of these major participants is in a verbal clause. Example 10 illustrates the first mention of the major participants who are the narrator and her companions. They are referred to with the first person plural pronoun in a verbal clause.

(10)

Naabutan	*kay*	ta	bagyo
na=abot=an	kay	ta	bagyo
STAT,LOC,R=arrive=___	1,PL,EX,ABS	OBL	typhoon

[7] Since gender is not distinguished in third person pronoun, 'he' or 'she' in the free translation comes from the context.

naan	ta	laod.
naan	ta	laod
SPAT	OBL	open.sea

'We were overtaken by a typhoon on the open sea.' (B4)

The high frequency with which major participants are first mentioned in verbal clauses results from the strong tendency to start out immediately with action in a biography. Furthermore, in most of these biographies there is no need for a descriptive introduction of the major participants since they are identifiable. Of the 13 major participants that are introduced in verbal clauses, 9 are initiators of the action, actors or experiencers.

Five major participants are introduced in a construction other than a verbal clause, as shown in chart 2. The first mention as the topic of an indefinite possessive clause is a comment by the narrator who is also the major participant that she had an experience which she will not forget. The first mention in an equative descriptive clause is a statement of the setting of the story — when the narrator was small. Thus, even though biographies tend to begin with the action line, statements giving the setting or background of the story may occur before the action line begins.

Chart 2. Constructions in which major participants are introduced in biographies

IDENTIFIABLE	
Definite NP in verbal clause	12
Topic of indefinite possessive existential clause	1
Topic of equative descriptive clause	1
UNIDENTIFIABLE	
Indefinite NP in verbal clause	1
Topic of basic indefinite existential clause	1
NOT INCLUDED IN THE COUNT	
English title	2

In summary, the majority of major participants in biographies are identifiable and tend to be first mentioned as actors or experiencers in verbal clauses.

1.2.2. Introduction of Major Participants in Traditional Narratives

There were 22 major participants in the traditional narratives. Of these 19 (86%) are first mentioned in thematic clauses. Example 11 illustrates a typical thematic clause; it is the first mention of the major participant *patay na ittaw* 'a dead person'.

(11)	Isturya	parti	ta	patay	na	ittaw	na	gabalik.
	isturya	parti	ta	patay	na	ittaw	na	ga=balik
	story	about	OBL	dead	LK	person	LK	ACT,TH,R=return

'A story about a dead person who came back.' (T8)

Five abbreviated thematic clauses occur in the corpus: one without the topic noun phrase, three without the preposition and one without both the topic and the preposition. The latter is just a noun phrase as illustrated in example 12.

(12)	Manalamen	Na	Mga	Manakem	Ta	Timpo	Ta	Gubat
	ma-nalam=en	na	mga	manakem	ta	timpo	ta	gubat
	AJR=know=___	LK	PLM	elderly.person	OBL	time	POSS	attacker

'Wise Elderly People at the Time of the "Attackers"' (T10)

Three major participants in the traditional narratives are first mentioned in constructions other than a thematic clause, as shown in chart 3.

Chart 3. Constructions in which major participants are introduced in traditional narratives

IDENTIFIABLE	
Definite oblique NP of verbal clause	1
UNIDENTIFIABLE	
Thematic clause	19
Topic of basic indefinite existential clause	1
Indefinite oblique phrase in verbal clause	1

Two of these exceptions occurred in a narrative embedded in an explanation of where the *sampagita* 'Nyctanthes flower' came from. Since the thematic clause introduces the topic "where the *sampagita* flower came from", the major participant *magsawa* 'married couple' is introduced in a basic indefinite existential clause (example 13) in the same way that unidentifiable major participants are introduced in biographies. Note, however, that since the noun is plural the adjective *isya* 'a certain' does not occur.

(13)	Ta	isya	na	lugar	may	magsawa	na	lugay
	ta	isya	na	lugar	may	mag=sawa	na	lugay
	OBL	certain	LK	place	EXT.INDEF	REL=spouse	LK	long.time

makabata.
maka=bata
ACT,AG,IRR,APT=give.birth

'In a certain place there was a couple who were married a long time before they were able to have a child.' (T5)

The other major participant in this embedded narrative *bata* 'child' is first mentioned in an oblique phrase in a verbal clause (example 14). Notice the adjective *isya* in the oblique phrase indicating that this is an unidentifiable participant.

(14)

Patagan	danen	ta	*isya*	*na*	*bata*
pa=atag=an	danen	ta	isya	na	bata
ACT,LOC,R=give=___	3,PL,ABS	OBL	certain	LK	child

na	bai	na	sikad	na	dayaw.
na	bai	na	sikad	na	dayaw
LK	female	LK	very	LK	beautiful

'(He) gave them a female child who was very beautiful.' (T5)

In another story the major participants, *mga bata* 'children', are also first mentioned in an oblique phrase in a verbal clause. However, this is a definite reference because of their relationship to other major participants who had already been introduced (example 15). Notice that even though these major participants are not introduced in a thematic clause, the clause is subordinated to one.

(15)

May	isturya	a	man	parti	ta	patay	na
may	isturya	a	man	parti	ta	patay	na
EXT.INDEF	story	1,SG,ABS	also	about	OBL	dead	LK

gauli	tak	*gapasuso*	*nang*	*ta*	*iya*
ga=uli	tak	ga=pa=suso	nang	ta	iya
ACT,TH,R=return	because	ACT,AG,R=CAUS=nurse	only	OBL	3,SG,POSS

na	*mga*	*bata*	*na*	*sapping*	*o*	*kapid.*
na	mga	bata	na	sapping	o	kapid
LK	PLM	child	LK	Siamese[8]	or	twin

'I also have a story about a dead person who returned because (she) nursed her children, Siamese twins or twins.' (T8)

In summary, as shown in chart 3, major participants in traditional narratives tend to be unidentifiable and are usually introduced in thematic clauses.

1.3. Introduction of Minor Participants

Minor participants have little significance to the overall plot and occur only briefly in the story. They may be first mentioned in the setting of a story but only after the first

[8] This word is used primarily to refer to Siamese twins, but it is also used for twins in general and for any extra attached part, e.g. a sixth finger.

mention of the major participants, especially the major participant from whose perspective the story is narrated.

No difference has been found in how minor participants are first mentioned in biographies and in traditional narratives. Furthermore, minor participants and minor props are first mentioned in similar ways. There are 70 minor participants in the narratives with 56 in the ten biographies and 14 in the ten traditional narratives. The ways in which they are first mentioned are shown in chart 4. Of the 70 minor participants, 56 are first mentioned in verbal clauses. The difference in the numbers of minor participants occurring in the different roles in the verbal clauses is insignificant. Thirty occurred as initiators of the action and 26 occurred in noninitiator roles.

Of the 70 minor participants 58 are already identifiable at their first mention. They are identifiable by their relation to a another definite participant, the scenario, uniqueness or common knowledge of speaker and addressee.

Chart 4. Constructions in which minor participants are introduced

IDENTIFIABLE	
Definite NP in verbal clause	51
Topic of equative descriptive clause	3
Topic of equative location clause	3
Topic of definite existential clause	1
UNIDENTIFIABLE	
Indefinite NP in verbal clause	5
Topic of basic indefinite existential clause	4
Comment of an indefinite possessive existential clause	2
Cleft construction	1

An identifiable minor participant is usually introduced with a definite noun phrase in a verbal clause, as in example 16. An unidentifiable minor participant is usually introduced either with an indefinite noun phrase in a verbal clause or as topic of a basic indefinite existential clause.

	VERB	ERG	ABS				
(16)	...paumaw	ko	*ake*	*na*	*kabataan*	na,
	pa=umaw	ko	ake	na	kabataan	na
	ACT,TH,R=call	1,SG,ERG	1,SG,POSS	LK	children	LK

"Manaw	kaw	di."
m=panaw	kaw	di
ACT,TH,IRR=come	2,PL,AVS	D1,A,G

'... I called my children, "Come (PL) here."' (B2)

The indefinite possessive existential clause in example 17 occurred at the beginning of the narrative in the setting and is part of the background or collateral information. (This indefinite possessive existential clause is different than the indefinite possessive existential clause with an embedded verbal clause mentioned in section 1.1 in that this clause actually states possession or relationship.)

	TOPIC			COMMENT	
(17)	Danen	i	ubos	*may*	*sawa.*
	danen	i	ubos	may	sawa
	3,PL,ABS	DEF,N	all	EXT.INDEF	spouse

'They both had wives.' (T2)

In summary, minor participants are usually identifiable and are most frequently introduced with definite noun phrases in verbal clauses.

1.4. Introduction of Major Props

Like participants, props can also be major or minor. Major props are used in the story line in a way that affects the plot; they are essential in the pivotal points of the plot. Minor props, on the other hand, are incidental and only provide background.

There is a total of 139 props in the 20 narratives, with 87 in the biographies and 52 in the traditional narratives. The language assistant classified 6 as major props with 3 in the biographies and 3 in the traditional narratives. The ways in which they are first mentioned are shown in chart 5.

Chart 5. Constructions in which major props are introduced

UNIDENTIFIABLE	
Comment of indefinite possessive existential clause with embedded verbal clause	3
Topic of basic indefinite existential clause	1
Indefinite oblique phrase in a verbal clause	1
Comment of equative identification clause	1

All of the major props are unidentifiable. Of the 6 major props, 4 are first mentioned in indefinite existential clauses. When props are introduced in the comment of an indefinite possessive existential clause with an embedded verbal clause and the verb is *kita* 'see' or

mati 'hear', an element of surprise is involved, as illustrated in example 18 by the bird. Of the 6 major props, 3 occurred in this type of construction.

(18)

Pag-angad	nay	ta	apaw	ta	tyarok,
pag=angad	nay	ta	apaw	ta	tyarok
GER=look.up	1,PL,EX,GEN	OBL	top	OBL	mast

COMMENT		TOPIC	COMMENT			
may	*nakita*	*kay*	*na*	*isya*	*na*	*yupan.*
may	na=kita	kay	na	isya	na	yupan
EXT.INDEF	ACT,TH,R=see	1,PL,EX,ABS	LK	certain	LK	bird

'When we looked up at the top of mast, we had something we saw which was a certain bird.' (B4)

Two major props are introduced in other constructions. One major prop *blawan* 'gold' is first mentioned in an identification clause reporting what a participant said in surprise when he saw the gold (example 19). It is possible that the possessive existential clause did not occur in order to increase the suspense. However, when I inserted a possessive existential clause in the story before this identification clause, the language assistant felt that it sounded much better.

(19)

Pasil-ing	din	kon	daw	ambal	din
pa=sil-ing	din	kon	daw	ambal	din
ACT,TH,R=peek	3,SG,ERG	RS	and	say	3,SG,ERG

"*Blawan*	*man*	*ni*	*a."*
blawan	man	ni	a
gold	also	D1,DEM,ABS	INJ

'He peeked in (at it) and he said, "This is gold!"' (T2)

The major prop *bagyo* 'typhoon' is first mentioned in an oblique phrase in a verbal clause (example 20). Even though the *bagyo* is inanimate it could possibly be given major participant status because of its major involvement in the plot as the antagonist. Or it may be that meteorological phenomena are sometimes treated as animate and it is therefore a major participant rather than a prop.

(20)

Naabutan	kay	*ta*	*bagyo*
na=abot=an	kay	ta	bagyo
STAT,LOC,R=arrive=___	1,PL,EX,ABS	OBL	typhoon

naan	ta	laod.
naan	ta	laod
SPAT	OBL	open.sea

'We were overtaken by a typhoon on the open sea.' (B4)

1.5. Introduction of Minor Props

The language assistant classified 133 props as minor in the 20 stories. Of these 84 are in the biographies and 49 are in the traditional narratives. No difference has been found in how minor props are first mentioned in biographies and in traditional narratives.

In the texts there are 58 unidentifiable minor props and 75 identifiable minor props. Unlike major and minor participants and major props the difference is insignificant.

Unidentifiable minor props that are introduced in verbal clauses only occurred in indefinite oblique phrases. The adjective *isya* 'a certain' does not mark unidentifiable minor props. Identifiable minor props are introduced in any of the roles of a verbal clause except as the initiator of the action, as shown in chart 6.

Chart 6. The roles in which minor props are introduced in verbal clauses

IDENTIFIABLE	
Definite oblique phrase	39
Absolutive Theme of nonactive intransitive clause	7
Absolutive Theme of transitive clause	12
Absolutive Location	10
UNIDENTIFIABLE	
Indefinite oblique phrase	44

Example 21 illustrates an unidentifiable minor prop first mentioned in an indefinite oblique phrase.

(21)	Gakamang	kanen	i	*ta*	*bitlag*	daw	linyaan
	ga=kamang	kanen	i	ta	bitlag	daw	linya=an
	ACT,AG,R=get	3,SG,ABS	DEF,N	OBL	stick	and	line=ACT,LOC,IRR[9]

baybay	an.
baybay	an
beach	DEF,M

'He got a stick and made a line on the beach.' (T7)

Minor props that occur in the absolutive Theme role of a nonactive intransitive clause are often props in a movement or process event. Example 22 illustrates a minor prop *layag* 'sail' that is in the process of tearing.

(22)	Galayag	kay	nang	en	na	ula	nay
	ga=layag	kay	nang	en	na	ula	nay
	ACT,TH,R=sail	1,PL,EX,ABS	only	CM	LK	NEG	1,PL,EX,ERG

nlami	daw	indi	kay	punta	asta
na=alam=I	daw	indi	kay	punta	asta
STAT,TH,R=know=___	if	where	1,PL,EX,ABS	going	until

[9] Frequently in Kagayanen in clauses coordinated with the conjunction *daw* 'and,' the verb in the second clause is irrealis in form but the meaning is realis.

nang	en	na	*gagisi*	*layag*	*i.*
nang	en	na	ga=gisi	layag	i
only	CM	LK	ACT,TH,R=tear	sail	DEF,N

'We were sailing not knowing where we were going until even the sail tore.' (B4)

Example 23 illustrates a minor prop as absolutive Theme of a transitive clause and example 24 illustrates one as an absolutive Location.

(23)

Mga	alas	singko	ta	mapon	gambal
mga	alas	singko	ta	mapon	ga=ambal
approximately	o'clock	five	OBL	afternoon	ACT,AG,R=say

rais	i	na	bataken	kon	en	*pundo*	*an.*
rais	i	na	batak=en	kon	en	pundo	an
captain	DEF,N	LK	pull.up=ACT,TH,IRR	RS	CM	anchor	DEF,M

'About five o'clock in the afternoon the captain said to pull the anchor up.' (B4)

(24)

Ta,	gainit	kon	saluguon	daen	ta	isya	kawa
ta	ga=init	kon	saluguon	daen	ta	isya	kawa
so	ACT,AG,R=heat	RS	servant	3,PL,GEN	OBL	one	wok

daw	*bulsa*	*din*	*an*	*naugsakan*	*din*
daw	bulsa	din	an	na=ugsak=an	din
and	pocket	3,SG,GEN	DEF,M	ACT,LOC,R=put.inside=___	2,SG,ERG

kon	*ta*	*bari*	*na*	*sikad*	*bakod.*
kon	ta	bari	na	sikad	bakod
RS	OBL	knife	LK	very	big

'So, their servant heated up one wok (of oil) and she put a very big knife in her pocket.' (T2)

Of the 133 minor props, 112 (84%) were introduced in verbal clauses; of the 112, 83 (74%) occurred in oblique phrases, the most frequent role in which a minor prop is introduced. In biographies 50 out of 84 minor props occurred in oblique phrases and in traditional narratives 33 out of 49. Both identifiable and unidentifiable props may occur in oblique phrases. The majority of the unidentifiable props occurred in oblique phrases of verbal clauses — 44 out of 58 (76%). Fewer of the identifiable minor props occurred in oblique phrases, 39 out of 75 (52%).

The first mention of 21 minor props occurred in constructions other than verbal clauses, as shown in chart 7.

Chart 7. Constructions in which minor props are introduced

IDENTIFIABLE	
Definite NP in verbal clause	68
Topic of equative descriptive clause	7
UNIDENTIFIABLE	
Indefinite oblique NP in verbal clause	44
Topic of basic indefinite existential clause	2
Comment of indefinite possessive existential clause	6
Comment of indefinite possessive existential clause with embedded verbal clause	2
Comment of equative identification clause	1
Comment of equative location clause	2
Oblique in cleft construction	1

The two cases of basic indefinite existential clauses state the existence of something; example 25 states the existence of the minor prop, *apoy* 'fire'.

(25)

Pabistaan		ko	tapaan	ya
pa=bista=an		ko	tapa=an	ya
ACT.LOC.R=check.on=___		1,SG,ERG	dry.with.fire=place	DEF,F
COMMENT		TOPIC		
daw	*may*	*apoy*	*pa.*	
daw	may	apoy	pa	
if	EXT.INDEF	fire	INC	

'I checked the drying place if there was still a fire.' (B7)

There are two cases of indefinite possessive existential clauses. Example 26 illustrates the indefinite possessive existential clause indicating a part-whole relationship. Example 27 illustrates the indefinite possessive existential clause indicating possession.

(26)

Kasampet	kanen	ta	isya	na	bakod	na
ka=sampet	kanen	ta	isya	na	bakod	na
ACT,TH,R,APT=come.upon	3,SG,ABS	OBL	one	LK	big	LK

TOPIC		COMMENT	
kaoy	*na*	*may*	*lungag.*
kaoy	na	may	lungag
tree	LK	EXT.INDEF	hole

'He came upon a big tree that had a hole.' (T2)

		COMMENT			TOPIC	COMMENT	
(27)	Bag-o,	may	bari	pa	kanen	na	dala...
	bag-o	may	bari	pa	kanen	na	dala
	first	EXT.INDEF	knife	also	3,SG,ABS	LK	carry

'First, he also had a knife that (he) was carrying...' (B7)

Indefinite possessive existential clauses with embedded verbal clauses usually introduce a major participant/prop. Two minor props, however, are introduced with this construction but the verb is *dala* 'carry' (example 28), not *kita* 'see' or *mati* 'hear' as with major props indicating surprise.

	TOPIC			COMMENT		
(28)	Uyi	lolo	i	may	dala	na
	uyi	lolo	i	may	dala	na
	D1,DEM,FRNT,ABS,EMPH,G	grandfather	DEF,N	EXT,INDEF	carry	LK

palamingko.[10]
palamingko
knife

'This one who is the grandfather was carrying a knife. (B10) (Lit: This one, the grandfather, had something he was carrying which was a knife.)'

1.6. Summary

Chart 8 summarizes the most frequent ways that participants and props are introduced and whether they are more frequently identifiable or unidentifiable. Major participants in traditional narratives and major props are the most distinct in that they are most frequently first mentioned in constructions other than in a verbal clause. Of those that occur in verbal clauses, major participants tend to occur in actor or experiencer roles while minor props tend to occur in oblique phrases. Minor participants occur in any role in verbal clauses.

[10] This is a Hiligaynon word.

Chart 8. Constructions in which participants and props are most frequently introduced

PARTICIPANT	IDENTIFIABILITY	CONSTRUCTION
MAJOR PARTICIPANTS		
In biographies	Identifiable	Initiator of action in verbal clause
In traditional narratives	Unidentifiable	NP in prepositional phrase in thematic clause
MINOR PARTICIPANTS	Identifiable	Any role in verbal clause
MAJOR PROPS	Unidentifiable	Indefinite possessive existential clause with embedded verbal clause
MINOR PROPS	Either	Oblique phrase in verbal clause

Chart 9 shows more detail on the introduction of identifiable and unidentifiable participants and props. Unidentifiable major and minor participants are introduced similarly except that minor participants do not have *isya* 'a certain' in the existential clause.

Chart 9. Constructions in which identifiable and unidentifiable participants and props are most frequently introduced

PARTICIPANT	IDENTIFIABLE	UNIDENTIFIABLE
MAJOR PARTICIPANTS		
In biographies	Any definite NP especially initiator of action	Indefinite existential clause with *isya* Ergative NP with *isya*
In traditional narratives	Any definite NP	NP in prepositional phrase in thematic clause Indefinite existential clause with *isya* Ergative NP with *isya*
MINOR PARTICIPANTS	Any definite NP	Indefinite existential clause without *isya* Nonabsolutive NP with *isya* Any indefinite NP in nonverbal clause
MAJOR PROPS	?	Comment of possessive existential clause with embedded verbal clause Any indefinite NP
MINOR PROPS	Any definite NP, especially oblique phrase	Any indefinite NP, especially oblique phrase

Chart 10 shows the different roles of participants and props when they are introduced in verbal clauses. Participants may occur in any of the roles in a verbal clause whether absolutive or nonabsolutive. Props cannot occur as an initiator of the action.

Chart 10. The roles of participants and props introduced in verbal clauses

PARTICIPANTS	ABS =	AG, TH, LOC
	NONABS =	AG, LOC
PROPS	ABS =	TH, LOC
	NONABS =	LOC

2. Tracking of Participants and Props

In this section reference to participants and props after they are introduced, i.e. how they are tracked, is discussed.

2.1. Tracking of Participants

The basic pattern in Kagayanen is that after a participant is introduced, subsequent reference is with the weakest possible overt grammatical device that will enable the hearer to distinguish who is being referred to. Zero reference is not included among the possible tracking devices since it is not overt and it does not enable the hearer to distinguish who is being referred to. The special use of zero reference in Kagayanen is discussed in section 2.1.3.

The weakest overt device is one which takes the least effort. It takes less effort for the speaker to use a pronoun, than a full noun phrase. First, a pronoun is usually phonologically smaller than a noun phrase; a pronoun may be one or two syllables in Kagayanen, while a noun phrase may contain several words. Second, a noun phrase is semantically larger in that it may contain descriptive words, a demonstrative, a count word, a possessive, etc. Compare:

(29) pronoun: *kanen* '3,SG,ABS'
noun phrase: *magulang din ya* 'his older.brother DEF,F'

Even a single noun is semantically larger than a pronoun because it is more specific. For instance, a third person pronoun in Kagayanen can refer to men, women or things since there is no gender distinction in the pronoun system, but a noun refers to a specific thing or type of thing. Compare:

(30) pronoun: *kanen* 'he/she/it'
noun: *kaoy* 'bush, plant, tree lumber'

Weaker grammatical devices are used to refer to accessible/continuous participants/props. An accessible referent is one that is currently in the hearer's memory.

Givón (1983:18) presents a scale of grammatical devices from those that are used for more accessible referents to those that are for less accessible ones in languages in general. A zero reference, that is, no overt reference, is used for referents at the top of the scale of accessibility, that is, highly accessible to the hearer. Then in a descending order: unstressed pronouns, stressed pronouns, different types of noun phrases from definite to indefinite. In Kagayanen overt referencing, a pronoun is used in tracking a participant who is already accessible to the hearer whereas when a third person participant is introduced and thus not as accessible, a noun phrase is used.

2.1.1. Tracking by Pronouns

As mentioned above, the basic pattern in Kagayanen is that the weakest overt device is used that will enable the hearer to distinguish which participant is being referred to. Therefore, if only one participant or one group of participants is on the discourse stage, then this participant or group of participants will normally be referred to by a pronoun when there is no other special discourse function nor special meaning involved. Example 31 illustrates the first mention of major participants *magsawa* 'married couple' and subsequent references to them. Pronouns occur for the subsequent references since they are the only ones on the discourse stage.

(31)

Ta	isya	na	lugar	may	*magsawa*	na	lugay
ta	isya	na	lugar	may	mag=sawa	na	lugay
OBL	certain	LK	place	EXT.INDEF	REL=spouse	LK	long.time

makabata.	*Danen*	i	naan
maka=bata	danen	i	naan
ACT,AG,IRR,APT=give.birth	3,PL,ABS	DEF,N	SPAT,DEF

gaistar	ta	banwa	na	madyo	ta	syudad.	Ula	mga
ga=istar	ta	banwa	na	madyo	ta	syudad	ula	mga
ACT,TH,R=reside	OBL	town	LK	far	OBL	city	NEG	PLM

silingan	daw	*iran*	na	pagpangabui	pang-uma.
silingan	daw	iran	na	pag=pangabui	pang=uma
neighbor	and	3,PL,POSS	LK	GER=living	INST=field

Danen	i	sigi	pangamuyo	na	atagan
danen	i	sigi	pangamuyo	na	atag=an
3,PL,ABS	DEF,N	continue	pray	LK	give=ACT,LOC,IRR

kon	*danen*	ta	bata	bisan	isya	nang	daw
kon	danen	ta	bata	bisan	isya	nang	daw
RS	3,PL,ABS	OBL	child	even	one	only	and

namatian	man	ta	Dios	*iran*	na
na=mati=an	man	ta	Dios	iran	na
STAT,TH,R=hear=___	also	ERG	God	3,PL,POSS	LK

pagpangamuyo.
pag=pangamuyo
GER=prayer

'At a certain place there was a *couple* who were married a long time before (they) were able to have a child. *They* lived in a town far from the city. There were no neighbors and *their* livelihood was farming. *They* continually prayed that *they* would be given a child, even just one, and God heard *their* prayers.' (T5)

When more than one participant is on the discourse stage, either major or minor, pronouns are used when the actors of successive clauses are the same or when there is no referential competition, i.e. more than one participant that would be semantically compatible in the clause. If the participants are all third person singular, then there is referential competition. Only one participant can be referred to with one type of pronoun in a given clause. For example two participants cannot be referred to with a third person singular pronoun in the same clause.

Example 32 illustrates the switch of actor in the first two clauses where nouns occur and the same actor in the third clause where a pronoun occurs. In the first clause it is the fish that makes his mouth long. In the second clause a different actor, the one collecting debts, is the one who is unable to force the fish to pay. In the third clause a pronoun occurs since the actor is the same as in the previous clause. In the third clause it is the one collecting that goes home.

	CLAUSE 1									
(32)	Dayon	palangkawen				ta	utang-utang	iya	na	
	dayon	pa=langkaw=en				ta	CRD=utang	iya	na	
	then	ACT,TH,R,CAUS=long=___				ERG	DIM=debt	3,SG,POSS	LK	
		CLAUSE 2							CLAUSE 3	
	baba.	Gasukot		ula	gid	kaleges.			Dayon	
	baba	ga=sukot		ula	gid	ka=leges			Dayon	
	mouth	ACT,AG,R=collect		NEG	INS	ACT,AG,APT=force			then	
	uli	*kanen*	ya.							
	uli	kanen	ya							
	go.home	3,SG,ABS	DEF,F							

'Then the (fish called) debt made his mouth long. The one collecting debts was not able to force (the fish to pay). Then *he* went home.' (T1)

Pronouns are used for more than one participant when there is a contrast in number or person in the pronouns referring to them. Example 33 illustrates pronouns which contrast in person and refer to two groups of participants on the discourse stage. This is a biographical account of a meeting to arrange an engagement. The ones waiting are the parents of the girl to be engaged and an American man and his companions who came to watch the proceedings. The ones coming are the man to be engaged and his family.

(33)	Siguro	mga	darwa	oras	tagtagad	*nay*	daw
	siguro	mga	darwa	oras	CVC=tagad	nay	daw
	maybe	about	two	hour	CONT=wait	1,PL,EX,GEN	when

mabot	*danen*	an.	Mabot	*danen*				
m=abot	danen	an	m=abot	danen				
ACT,TH,IRR=arrive	3,PL,ABS	DEF,M	ACT,TH,IRR=arrive	3,PL,ABS				
an	annem	na	manakem	daw	darwa	na	bata.	Ta
an	annem	na	manakem	daw	darwa	na	bata	ta
DEF,M	six	LK	elderly.person	and	two	LK	child	when
pagbutwa	*danen*	ta	balay	an,	"Tagbalay."	"Dayon		
pag=butwa	danen	ta	balay	an	tagbalay	dayon		
GER=appear	3,PL,GEN	OBL	house	DEF,M	owner.of.house	come.in		
kaw."	Gapanaik	en	*danen*	an.	Gatatawa			
kaw	ga=panaik	en	danen	an	Ga=CV=tawa			
2,PL,ABS	ACT,TH,R=go.up	CM	3,PL,ABS	DEF,M	ACT,TH,R=CONT=laugh			
kay	en.							
kay	en							
1,PL,EX,ABS	CM							

'Maybe about two hours was *our* waiting (for them) before *they* arrived. When *they* arrived there were six elderly people and two children. When *they* appeared at the house, (they said,) "Owner of the house." (We said,) "Come on in." *They* came up. *We* were laughing. (B6)

A noun occurs in a *na* 'when' or complement marker or *tak* 'because' subordinate clause which follows a main clause when the actors are different in the two clauses. However, the next main clause will have a pronoun even if the actor is the same as the preceding main clause and different than that in the intervening subordinate clause. Example 34 illustrates a pronoun in a main clause referring to a girl followed by a subordinate clause with a noun referring to another person. Then the next main clause refers to the girl with a pronoun.

(34)

Ula	*din*	kon	nadiparai	na	may	*ittaw*	
ula	din	kon	na=dipara=I	na	may	ittaw	
NEG	3,SG,ERG	RS	STAT,TH,R=notice=___	LK	EXT.INDEF	person	
na	galambay	daw	kakita	ki	kanen.		
na	ga=lambay	daw	ka=kita	ki	kanen		
LK	ACT,TH,R=pass	and	ACT,AG,R,APT=see	OBL	3,SG,OBL		
Dayon	*din*	kon	sara	tumbuan	ya.		
dayon	din	kon	sara	tumbuan	ya		
then	3,SG,ERG	RS	shut	window	DEF,F		

'*She* did not notice that there was a *person* who went by and saw her. Then *she* shut the window.' (T5)

2.1.2. Tracking by Nouns

Situations where nouns are used to refer to major participants include the following. Nouns are used to refer to participants when there is a switch in actors in successive clauses and semantic competition at the same time, e.g. two third persons, or if the referential distance from the last mention of a participant is great and it is re-introduced. Nouns are

also used in cases when there are special discourse functions such as the beginning of the three major units of a story — introduction, body, conclusion — and the beginning of a paragraph even when there is no change in actors. (Paragraph here means a change in setting such as time or place or a change from a descriptive section back to an event line section.)

Example 35 illustrates the use of a noun after some referential distance. In the first and second sentences Badong and Bilas Bebot are referred to with a third person plural pronoun. They are not referred to in the third to the fifth sentences. Then in the sixth sentence they are referred to with nouns even though there is no semantic competition.

(35)

SENTENCE 1

Pailingan	*danen*	dya	daw	gadala	*danen*
pa=iling=an	danen	dya	daw	ga=dala	danen
ACT,LOC,R=go=___	3,PL,ERG	D4,A,G	and	ACT,AG,R=carry	3,PL,ABS

SENTENCE 2

ta	flashlight.	Ta,	tabo	man	mag-ilaw-ilaw	*danen*
ta	flashlight	ta	tabo	man	mag=CRD=ilaw	danen
OBL	flashlight	so	happen	also	ACT,AG,IRR=RP=light	3,PL,ABS

unso,	gategbeng	a	unti	baybay	i.
unso	ga=tegbeng	a	unti	baybay	i
D4,A,SP	ACT,TH,R=descend	1,SG,ABS	D1,A,SP	beach	DEF,N

SENTENCE 3

Salig	*ko*	daw	kino	tak	naan	*a*	man
salig	ko	daw	kino	tak	naan	a	man
thought	1,SG,ERG	if	who	because	SPAT,DEF	1,SG,ABS	also

galin	unso	tapaan	ya	Atong	tak
ga=alin	unso	tapa=an	ya	Atong	tak
ACT,TH,R=from	D4,A,SP	dry.with.fire=place	DEF,F	Atong	because

yaken	gatapa	dya	man.
yaken	ga=tapa	dya	man
1,SG,ABS,EMPH	ACT,AG,R=dry.with.fire	D4,A,G	also

SENTENCE 4

Pabistaan	*ko*	tapaan	ya	daw
pa=bista=an	ko	tapa=an	ya	daw
ACT,LOC,R=check.on=___	1,SG,ERG	dry.with.fire=place	DEF,F	if

SENTENCE 5

may	apoy	pa.	Ta,	gadiritso	a	nang
may	apoy	pa	ta	ga=diritso	a	nang
EXT.INDEF	fire	INC	so	ACT,TH,R=go.straight	1,SG,ABS	only

SENTENCE 6

unti	en	baybay	daw	malit	agas.	Lugar	na
unti	en	baybay	daw	m=palit	agas	lugar	na
D1,A,SP	CM	beach	and	ACT,AG,IR=buy	kerosene	then	when

pag-iling	*danen,*	*Badong*	*ya*	unso	*daw*	*bilas*
pag=iling	danen	Badong	ya	unso	daw	bilas
GER=go	3,PL,GEN	Badong	DEF,F	D4,A,SP	and	sibling.in.law

Bebot,	pabistaan	*danen*	ittaw	ya	daw
Bebot	pa=bista=an	danen	ittaw	ya	daw
Bebot	ACT,LOC,R=check.on=___	3,PL,ERG	person	DEF,F	if

anen	pa	don.
anen	pa	don
EXT.DEF	INC	D3,A,SP

'1. *They* went there and *they* were carrying a flashlight. 2. So, it happened while *they* were shining (their) light over there, I came down here to the beach. 3. *I* thought who is that because *I* was coming from the drying place of Atong because *I* was drying (something) there also. 4. *I* checked on the drying place to see if there was still a fire. 5. Then I came straight here to the beach and (I) bought kerosene. 6. Then, when *they*, *Badong* and *Brother-in-law Bebot* were going there, they were checking on the person if (he) was still there.' (B7)

The excerpts in example 36 illustrate the use of nouns at major sections in a narrative. It gives the title of a traditional narrative about two brothers, the first sentence of the introduction, the first sentence of the body, i.e. the event line, and the first sentence of the conclusion.

(36)

TITLE

Isturya	Parti	ta	*Darwa*	*na*	*Mag-utod*	Manggaranen	daw
isturya	parti	ta	darwa	na	mag=utod	manggad=anen	daw
story	about	OBL	two	LK	REL=sibling	wealth=AJR	and

Imol
imol
poor

'A story about *two siblings*, one wealthy and one poor.' (T2)

INTRODUCTION

Anduni	mamati	kaw	ta	ake	i	na	isturya
anduni	ma=mati	kaw	ta	ake	i	na	isturya
now	ACT,AG,IRR=hear	2,PL,ABS	OBL	1,SG,POSS	DEF,N	LK	story

tenged	ta	*darwa*	*i*	*na mag-utod.*
tenged	ta	darwa	i	na mag=utod
about	OBL	two	DEF,N	LK REL=sibling

'Now listen (PL) to my story about the two siblings.' (T2)

BEGINNING OF STORYLINE — FIRST EVENT

May	isya	bisis	na	gapanaw	*ni,*
may	isya	bisis	na	ga=panaw	ni
EXT.INDEF	one	time	LK	ACT,TH,R=walk	D1,DEM,ABS

Mangngod	*i.*
mangngod	i
younger.sibling	DEF,N

'There was one time that *this one, the younger brother*, went somewhere.' (T2)

FIRST SENTENCE OF THE CONCLUSION								
Nyan	en.	Isya	man	na	liksyon	na	parti	ta
nyan	en	isya	man	na	liksyon	na	parti	ta
D2,DEM,ABS	CM	one	also	LK	lesson	LK	about	OBL

mag-utod.	
mag=utod	
REL=sibling	

'That is all. There is a lesson about the siblings.' (T2)

Example 37 illustrates the use of a noun at the first mention of the participant in the paragraph. Even though there is no semantic competition since one participant is first person and the other is third person 'Mr. Smith', a noun is used here instead of a pronoun.

(37)

Pagtugpa	nay	ta	landingan	ta	Iloilo,
pag=tugpa	nay	ta	landingan	ta	Iloilo
GER=land	1,PL,EX,GEN	OBL	airstrip	OBL	Iloilo

gagwa	aren	man	inta	en	daw	gulpi	eman
ga=gwa	aren	man	inta	en	daw	gulpi	eman
ACT,TH,R=go.out	1,SG,ABS	also	OPT	INC	and	suddenly	again

bellay	ake	na	ginawa.	Tenged	na	naan	ta
bellay	ake	na	ginawa	tenged	na	naan	ta
difficult	1,SG,POSS	LK	breath	because	LK	SPAT,DEF	OBL

landingan	ya	sikad	na	dangga	kag	pelles	en	angin
landingan	ya	sikad	na	dangga	kag	pelles	en	angin
airstrip	DEF,F	very	LK	hot	and	strong	CM	wind

an.	Dayon	eman	ambal	*Mr. Smith*	na,	"Malik
an	dayon	eman	ambal	Mr. Smith	na	m=balik
DEF,M	then	again	say	Mr. Smith	na	ACT,TH,IRR=return

ka	anay	ta	iruplano	ya."
ka	anay	ta	iruplano	ya
2,SG,ABS	first	OBL	airplane	DEF,F

'When we landed on the airstrip in Iloilo, I was about to get out of (the airplane) and suddenly my breathing became difficult again. Because we were on the airstrip it was very hot and the wind was strong. Then *Mr. Smith* said again, "Return (inside) the airplane."' (B1)

2.1.3. Tracking by Zero Reference

Zero reference is not overt and has a special marked use. There are several situations in which participants are "referred" to with zero reference, that is, there is no overt

reference to that participant in the text, but it is implied from the context. First, zero reference occurs in the buildup of tension in the plot. In the buildup the action moves fast and is encoded by shorter clauses with zero reference to the initiator of the action and/or the Theme of transitive verbs as long as they remain the same. Some nouns and pronouns are used to distinguish which participant did what to which other participant, but the obvious references are zero. In example 38 the sea turtle is referred to with a zero reference. This is the finish of a race, the peak of the story where the tension is the greatest.

(38)

Ay,	pag-abot	Ø	dya	ta	putuk-putukan	ya	ta	bungyod,
ay	pag=abot	Ø	dya	ta	CRD=putok=an	ya	ta	bungyod
oh	GER=arrive	Ø	D4,A,G	OBL	INS=peak=place	DEF,F	OBL	hill

naan	dya	en	Umang	an	gatagad	ki	kanen.
naan	dya	en	umang	an	ga=tagad	ki	kanen
SPAT	D4,A,G	CM	hermit.crab	DEF,M	ACT,TH,R=wait	OBL	3,SG,OBL

'Oh, when (*Turtle*) arrived at the peak of the hill, Hermit Crab was already there waiting for him.' (T7)

There are also some grammatical conditions which require zero reference. When the actor of a *na* serial construction and the main clause are co-referential, the actor is realized as zero in the serial clause. For example:

(39)

...dayon	*kanen*	lagan	na	manago	Ø	naan
dayon	kanen	lagan	na	mang=tago	Ø	naan
then	3,SG,ABS	run	LK	ACT,TH,R,RP=hide	Ø	SPAT,DEF

ta	bagol.
ta	bagol
OBL	coconut.shell

'... then *he* (*Turtle*) ran (Ø) hiding under a coconut shell.' (T4)

A relative clause also has zero reference for the participant referred to in the head noun phrase, but the affix of the verb in the relative clause cross-references the head noun. In example 40 the Theme of the relative clause, *ake na papa* 'my dad', is referred to with zero in the relative clause.

(40)

				RELATIVE CLAUSE			
Ake	na	Papa	na	nabilin	Ø	ta	Cagayancillo
ake	na	papa	na	na=bilin	Ø	ta	Cagayancillo
1,SG,POSS	LK	dad	LK	ACT,TH,R,PAST=leave	Ø	OBL	Cagayancillo

gangasebe	gid	ta	miad	tak	sikad	man	pelles	ta
ga=ngasebe	gid	ta	miad	tak	sikad	man	pelles	ta
ACT,TH,R=sad	INS	OBL	well	because	very	also	windy	
OBL								

Cagayancillo.
Cagayancillo
Cagayancillo

'My father, who was left on Cagayancillo, was really very sad because (the wind) was very strong also on Cagayancillo.' (B4)

2.2. Tracking of Props

Both major and minor props are referred to with definite noun phrases after their initial introduction, usually not with pronouns. The noun phrase is marked for definiteness since the subsequent mention is identifiable. Props may be referred to with zero reference under the same conditions as described in section 2.1.3. Example 41 illustrates a second mention of a major prop *lansang* 'nail' which is marked for definiteness.

(41)

Pagtikang	ko	na	muli		aren	en
pag=tikang	ko	na	m=uli		aren	en
GER=step	1,SG,GEN	LK	ACT,TH,IRR=go.home		1,SG,ABS	CM

ta	ame	na	balay,	nataran	ko
ta	ame	na	balay	na=utad=an	ko
OBL	1,PL,POSS	LK	house	ACT,LOC,R,APT=step.on=___	1,SG,ERG

lansang	*ya.*
lansang	ya
nail	DEF,F

'When I took a step going home to our house, I stepped on *the nail.*' (B5)

Example 42 illustrates the second mention of a minor prop *bari* 'knife'; it also is marked for definiteness.

(42)

Narwad	pa	*bari*	*din*	*ya.*
na=duwad	pa	bari	din	ya
CIRC,TH,R=loss	also	knife	3,SG,GEN	DEF,F

'*His knife* was lost.' (B7)

Example 43 illustrates a subsequent zero reference to a minor prop *iya na ulo* 'his head'.

(43)

Pasabunan		din	en	ta	miad	iya
pa=sabon=an		din	en	ta	miad	iya
ACT,LOC,R=soap=___		3,SG,ERG	CM	OBL	well	3,SG,POSS

na	ulo	asta	nang	en	nautod	Ø.
na	ulo	asta	nang	en	na=utod	Ø
LK	head	until	only	CM	CIRC,TH,R=cut	Ø

'He soaped up his head well until (*his head*) fell off.' (T3)

2.3. Fronted Noun Phrases in Participant Referencing

Kagayanen noun phrases and pronouns normally follow the predicate. However, under specifiable circumstances the noun phrase may occur before the predicate. The major conditions for fronting are: beginning of a new discourse unit, change from event line to a narrator's comment on background information, change of topic, contrast of two or more participants and negative constructions.

Fronted noun phrases mark the beginning of the three major units of a story: introduction, body, and conclusion. Example 44 illustrates the fronting of the first person emphatic pronoun in the introduction to a biography.

(44)

Na	*yaken*	i	tise	a	pa,	ta
na	yaken	i	tise	a	pa	ta
when	1,SG,ABS,EMPH	DEF,N	small	1,SG,ABS	INC	when

pag-iskwila	ko	ta	ilimintarya	dili	ko
pag=iskwila	ko	ta	ilimintarya	dili	ko
GER=school	1,SG,GEN	OBL	elementary	NEG	1,SG,ERG

malipatan.
ma=lipat=an
STAT,TH,IRR=forget=___

'When *I* was still small, when I was going to elementary school I cannot forget.' (B9)

Example 45 illustrates a fronted noun phrase as the first event on the main story line.

(45)

Kasilingan	*nay*	gailing	ta ame
kasilingan	nay	ga=iling	ta ame
neighbors	1,PL,EX,GEN	ACT,TH,R=come	OBL 1,PL,EX,POSS

na	balay	na	makig-ambit	ta	nutsibwina	nay.
na	balay	na	ma=kig-ambit	ta	nutsibwina	nay
LK	house	LK	ACT,AG,IRR=partake	OBL	midnight.supper	1,PL,EX,GEN

'*Our neighbors* came to our house to partake in our (Christmas or New Year's Eve) midnight supper.' (B1)

Fronted noun phrases also occur in the first clause of the conclusion to a story, when the clause expresses a comment by the author, and not just the final resulting events of the story line. The fronted noun phrase in this situation is usually a demonstrative, as in example 46.

(46)

Yi	ake	na	inagian	na	asta
yi	ake	na	in=agi=an	na	asta
D1,DEM,FRNT,ABS,G	1,SG,POSS	LK	NR,LOC=pass=___	LK	until

anduni	dili	ko	gid	malipatan.
anduni	dili	ko	gid	ma=lipat=an
now/today	NEG	1,SG,ERG	INS	STAT,TH,IRR=forget=___

'*This* is my experience which until now I really cannot forget.' (B4)

Fronted noun phrases also occur when the narrator gives background information that he thinks will help the addressee understand the story, as in example 47. This sentence helps the audience to understand the quote of a participant in the previous sentence in the story.

(47)	*Danen*	i	naan	kon	Mantubang	na	gaistar.
	danen	i	naan	kon	Mantubang	na	ga=istar
	3,PL,ABS	DEF,N	SPAT,DEF	RS	Mantubang	LK	ACT,TH,R=live

'*As for them*, in Mantubang was where they lived.' (T8)

Noun phrases are also fronted for other pragmatic reasons such as contrast between participants and contrast in perspective. One type of contrast is double focus contrast which is a correct matchup between two pairs of items, instead of just one contrasted to another. Example 48 contrasts those in all the other sailboats and the first person plural who is the narrator and her companions.

(48)	*Duma*	*ya*	*na*	*blangay*	*ubos*	balik –	ta	Cagayancillo.
	duma	ya	na	blangay	ubos	balik	ta	Cagayancillo
	other	DEF,F	LK	sailboat	all	return	OBL	Cagayancillo

Kami	nang	gadiritso	ta	Anini-y.
kami	nang	ga=diritso	ta	Anini-y
1,PL,EX,ABS,EMPH	only	ACT,TH,R=straight	OBL	Anini-y

'*All of the other sailboats* returned to Cagayancillo. *Only we* went straight to Anini-y.' (B4)

Noun phrases are fronted when the topic of the story changes. In example 49 the topic has changed from the narrator, her mother and siblings as first person plural to her father.

FRONTED NP WITH RELATIVIZED CLAUSE

(49)	*Ake*	*na*	*Papa*	*na*	*nabilin*	*ta*	*Cagayancillo*
	ake	na	papa	na	na=bilin	ta	Cagayancillo
	1,SG,POSS	LK	dad	LK	ACT,TH,R,PAST=leave	OBL	Cagayancillo

gangasebe	gid	ta	miad	tak	sikad	man	pelles	ta
ga=ngasebe	gid	ta	miad	tak	sikad	man	pelles	ta
ACT,TH,R=sad	INS	OBL	well	because	very	also	windy	OBL

Cagayancillo.
Cagayancillo
Cagayancillo

'*My father, who was left on Cagayancillo*, was really very sad because (the wind) was very strong also on Cagayancillo.' (B4)

Fronting is obligatory for pronouns in negative constructions, as in example 50. Noun phrases may also be fronted in negative constructions before the negative marker indicating a new unit, new topic or contrast (example 51).

(50)	Ula	*kanen*	gaparani	bato	ta	galain
	ula	kanen	ga=parani	bato	ta	ga=lain
	NEG	3,SG,ABS	ACT,TH,R=come.close	like	OBL	ACT,TH,R=bad

iya	na	beet.
Iya	na	beet
3,SG,POSS	LK	feelings

'*She* did not come close as though she felt bad.' (B1)

(51)	*Kanen*	*i*	ula	gaparani	bato	ta	galain
	kanen	i	ula	ga=parani	bato	ta	ga=lain
	3,SG,ABS	DEF,N	NEG	ACT,TH,R=come.close	like	OBL	ACT,TH,R=bad

iya	na	beet.
Iya	na	beet
3,SG,POSS	LK	feelings

'*She* did not come close like she felt bad.' (B1)

In summary, fronted noun phrases mark some important change in the narrative such as the beginning of the introduction, body or conclusion, background comment, new topic and contrasting participants. Fronting is obligatory for pronouns in negative constructions.

3. Conclusion

In this paper we have looked at the introduction and subsequent references to participants and props in Kagayanen narratives.

Major participants are usually introduced as actors or experiencers in verbal clauses in biographies and in prepositional phrases in thematic clauses in traditional narratives. Major props are introduced in indefinite existential clauses especially the possessive existential clause with an embedded verbal clause. Minor participants are introduced in verbal clauses in any role. Minor props also are introduced in verbal clauses, often in the oblique phrase, but never in an initiator role.

For subsequent references to participants, the weakest overt device is used which will enable the addressee to distinguish which participant is being referred to. No more than one participant in one sentence can be referred to with pronouns of the same person and number. If there is only one participant on stage, pronouns are used. When more than one participant is on the stage pronouns may be used if there is no switch of actors of successive clauses and no semantic competition. Nouns occur when there is referential distance or when there is a switch in actors and semantic competition at the same time. Nouns also occur at the beginning of sections of a narrative: title, introduction, body, conclusion and paragraphs. Zero references occur more often in the buildup and climax of the story, in serial constructions and in relative clauses.

Noun phrases are fronted at the beginning of the introduction, body and conclusion of a narrative. They are also fronted in a background comment, to begin a new topic, to contrast two or more participants and in negative constructions.

Appendix: List of Narratives on Which This Study is Based

Biographies

Text B1	Sickness of Asthma	Mr. Javier C. Carceler	written
Text B2	Look Alike	Mrs. Darlie B. Bundal	oral
Text B3	Chickenpox	Mrs. Emma B. Mampay	written
Text B4	Typhoon	Mrs. Veth T. Atilano	written
Text B5	Stepping on a Nail	Mrs. Veth T. Atilano	written
Text B6	Going to Teresa	Mrs. Benedicta Gapilango	oral
Text B7	Badong and Giant	Mr. Rudy Cayanan	oral
Text B8	Wild Pig	Mr. Rudy Cayanan	oral
Text B9	Bird Kalilawan	Mr. Malchor Bundac	written
Text B10	Capsize	Miss Jocelyn C. Bundal	oral

Traditional Narratives

Text T1	Fish that Always Borrows	Mrs. Emma B. Mampay	written
Text T2	Two Brothers	Mrs. Matilda C. Bundal	oral
Text T3	Three Friends	Mrs. Catalina D. Cayanan	written
Text T4	Monkey and Turtle	Miss Jocelyn C. Bundal	written
Text T5	Sampagita Flower	Miss Jocelyn C. Bundal	written
Text T6	Two Brothers and a Friend	Mr. Ruben L. Bundal	oral
Text T7	Hermit Crab and Turtle	Mr. Javier C. Carceler	oral
Text T8	A Dead Person who Returned	Mrs. Matilda C. Bundal	oral
Text T9	Three Fish	Mr. Javier C. Carceler	oral
Text T10	Wise Men	Mrs. Emma B. Mampay	written

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Kagayanen Enclitic Demonstratives *i*, *an*, and *ya*

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0. Introduction

Kagayanen has three enclitics — *i*, *an* and *ya* — which occur following the head in a noun phrase and which have sometimes been analyzed as case markers (see, for example, Harmon 1977:38).[1] The purposes of this paper are to show that these three particles are not case markers (section 3), but are enclitic forms of the demonstratives (section 4), and to describe the functions of these particles (section 5). First, in section 1, inherently definite nominals and definite constructions are summarized, and in section 2 the structure of the noun phrase is described.

The term ***definite*** is used in this paper as defined by Givón and by Trask:

> Speakers code a referential nominal as definite if they think that they are entitled to assume that the hearer can — by whatever means — assign it unique reference (Givón 1984:399).

> Definite: Denoting a noun phrase which refers to some particular entity or entities and whose reference is seen as clearly established, or clearly establishable from the linguistic or extralinguistic context. Definite NPs are often divided into proper names, such as *Lisa* or *Paris*, and definite descriptions, such as *the new teacher*, *my mother*, *that dog* and *the girl you were talking to* (Trask 1993:74).

In Kagayanen inherently definite nominals are demonstrative pronouns, personal pronouns, proper nouns, and nonspecific common nouns. Common nouns that are definite require some overt marking of definiteness such as a demonstrative, a possessive adjective, a genitive construction or the definite spatial oblique marker *naan*. A descriptive adjective (in the absolutive) can also help to mark a noun phrase as definite; for example, *sise na ittaw* 'the small person'. However, if the noun is definite but nonspecific — an ambient noun such as *langit* 'sky' or *kalibutan* 'earth' or an unspecified member of a limited set such as one airplane from a group of airplanes, or a generic noun such as a class name — then there may be no overt marker of definiteness. Common nouns may be definite by the situation or setting of the story. After a noun is introduced as definite, sometimes it is not marked as such in nonabsolutive phrases.

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The terms ***specific*** and ***identifiable*** as used in this paper mean:
Specific: a nongeneric noun phrase restricted to a particular individual or thing.
Identifiable: the speaker and/or addressee can determine the identity of the referent.

1. Inherently Definite Nominals and Definite Constructions

Inherently definite nominals include demonstratives, personal pronouns, and proper names. Definite constructions include the genitive construction and the oblique construction with *naan*.

1.1. Demonstratives

There are six sets of demonstrative pronouns and four spatial distinctions[2] (chart 1). The demonstrative pronouns in the absolutive set are the head of their noun phrase and no other constituent occurs in the noun phrase with them except for an optional relative clause. They can occur in the clause just as any other absolutive noun phrase and are cross-referenced on the verb in verbal clauses (examples 1–2).

The nonabsolutive set functions in the clause like nonabsolutive noun phrases, i.e. ergative (example 3), oblique (example 4) and genitive (example 5). They are the head of the noun phrase in which they occur and no other noun phrase constituents can occur with them except for an optional relative clause (example 6).

The fronted absolutive/preposed adjective set occurs as the head of the noun phrase only when fronted (example 7). When in the preposed adjective position, the noun phrase can occur in any case, absolutive (example 8), ergative (example 9), oblique (example 10) and genitive (example 11).

The fronted absolutive/preposed emphatic adjective set functions like the fronted/adjective absolutive adjective set (example 12).

The postposed adjective set occurs only after the head noun (see example 13) and the forms are contractions of the linker *na* and the generic preposed adjective forms. (*Naya* is from a variation of *na* + *yon*).

Except for the absolutive, postposed adjective, and enclitic sets, each set has a generic form and a specific form. The generic form is the unmarked form and the specific form is used like pointing the finger to some specific thing (example 14). The specific forms can occur with a head noun or without. When the specific occurs with a head noun it is discontinuous. The first word such as *yi* or *ti* is preposed to the head noun with a linker between them and the second word such as *ni* is postposed to the head noun with no linker (example 15).

The enclitic set of demonstratives usually occurs postposed to the head noun without the linker (example 16). This set has only three spatial distinctions with *an* covering for degrees two and three. They are glossed DEF,N (near), DEF,M (middle distance), and DEF,F (far) in the examples.

The deictic adverb set is included in the chart only for comparison with the demonstratives since it also has four deictic spatial distinctions and except for D4, the forms are clearly parallel to the nonabsolutive set (example 17).

---

[2] The younger generation of Kagayanens and those who have moved off the home island have collapsed the second and third degrees of spatial distinctions.

Chart 1. Sets of Demonstrative Pronouns and Deictic Adverbs

	DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS									DEICTIC ADVERBS	
	1	2		3		4		5	6		
	ABS	NONABS		FRNT, ABS/ PREPOSED, ADJ		FRNT, ABS, EMPH/ PREPOSED, ADJ, EMPH		POSTPOSED, ADJ	ENCLITIC		
		G	SP	G	SP	G	SP			G	SP
D1	*ni*	*ti*	*ti ni*	*yi/wi*	*yi ni*	*uyi/uwi*	*uyi ni*	*nai*	*i*	*di*	*unti*
D2	*nyan*	*san*	*san nyan*	*yan*	*yan nyan*	*yan*	*yan nyan*	*nayan*	*an*	*dyan*	*unsan*
D3	*nan*	*tan*	*tan nan*	*yon*	*yon nan*	*uyon*	*uyon nan*	*naya*		*don*	*untan*
D4	*nya*	*sa*	*sa nya*	*yo*	*yo nya*	*uyo*	*uyo nya*	*nayo*	*ya*	*dya*	*unso*

ABSOLUTIVE SET AS ABSOLUTIVE NP

(1)

Sekeben	ta	*ni*	daw	pila
sekeb=en	ta	ni	daw	pila
measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1,PL,INC,ERG	D1,DEM,ABS	if	how.many

gantang.
gantang
2-1/2.gallon.measuring.device

'Let's measure *this* for how many 2 1/2-gallon measures (there are).'

ABSOLUTIVE SET AS ABSOLUTIVE NP WITH RELATIVE CLAUSE

(2)

Sekeben	ta	*ni*	*na*	*mais*
sekeb=en	ta	ni	na	mais
measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1,PL,INC,ERG	D1,DEM,ABS	LK	corn

daw	pila	gantang.
daw	pila	gantang
if	how.many	2-1/2.gallon.measuring.device

'Let's measure *this which is corn* for how many 2 1/2-gallon measures (there are).'

NONABSOLUTIVE SET AS ERGATIVE NP

(3)

Sekeben	*ti*	mais	ta	an.
sekeb=en	ti	mais	ta	an
measure=ACT,TH,IRR	D1,DEM,ERG,G	corn	1,PL,INC,GEN	DEF,M

'*This one* will measure our corn.'

NONABSOLUTIVE SET AS OBLIQUE NP

(4)

Magsekeb	ki	*ti*	daw	pila
mag=sekeb	ki	ti	daw	pila
ACT,AG,IRR=measure	1,PL,INC,ABS	D1,DEM,OBL,G	if	how.many

gantang.
gantang
2-1/2.gallon

'Let's measure *this* for how many 2 1/2-gallon measures (there are).'

NONABSOLUTIVE SET AS POSSESSIVE NP

(5)

Sekeben	ta	mais	*ti.*
sekeb=en	ta	mais	ti
measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1,PL,INC,ERG	corn	D1,DEM,POSS,G

'Let's measure the corn *of this one.*'

NONABSOLUTIVE SET WITH RELATIVE CLAUSE

(6)

Magsekeb	ki	*ti*	*na*	*mais.*
mag=sekeb	ki	ti	na	mais
ACT,AG,IRR=measure	1,PL,INC,ABS	D1,DEM,OBL,G	LK	corn

'Let's measure *this which is corn.*'

FRONTED ABSOLUTIVE SET

(7)

Yi	sekeben	ta.
Yi	sekeb=en	ta
D1,DEM,FRNT,ABS,G	measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1,PL,INC,ERG

'*This* we will measure.'

PREPOSED ADJECTIVE SET IN ABSOLUTIVE NP

(8)

Sekeben	ta	*yi*	*na*	*mais.*
Sekeben	ta	yi	na	mais
measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1,PL,INC,ERG	D1,DEM,ADJ,G	LK	corn

'Let's measure *this corn.*'

PREPOSED ADJECTIVE SET IN ERGATIVE NP

(9)

Sekeben	*ta*	*yi*	*na*	*ittaw*	mais	ya.
sekeb=en	ta	yi	na	ittaw	mais	ya
measure=ACT,TH,IRR	ERG	D1,DEM,ADJ,G	LK	person	corn	DEF,F

'*This person* will measure the corn.'

PREPOSED ADJECTIVE SET IN OBLIQUE NP

(10)

Maagsekeb	ki	ta	yi	*na mais.*
mag=sekeb	ki	ta	yi	na mais
ACT,AG,IRR=measure	1,PL,INC,ABS	OBL	D1,DEM,ADJ,G	LK corn

'Let's measure *some of this corn.*'

PREPOSED ADJECTIVE SET IN POSSESSIVE NP

(11)

Sekeben	ta	mais	*ta*	*yi*	*na*
sekeb=en	ta	mais	ta	yi	na
measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1,PL,INC,ERG	corn	POSS	D1,DEM,ADJ,G	LK

ittaw.
ittaw
person

'Let's measure the corn *of this person.*'

FRONTED ABSOLUTIVE EMPHATIC SET

(12)

Uyi	sekeben	ta.
uyi	sekeb=en	ta
D1,DEM,FRNT,ABS,EMPH,G	measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1,PL,INC,ERG

'*This* we will measure.'

POSTPOSED ADJECTIVE SET

(13)

Sekeben	ta	mais	*nai.*
Sekeben	ta	mais	nai
measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1,PL,INC,ERG	corn	D1,DEM,ADJ

'Let's measure *this* corn.'

SPECIFIC FORM OF THE NONABSOLUTIVE SET WITHOUT A HEAD NOUN

(14)

Magsekeb	ki	*ti*	*ni.*
mag=sekeb	ki	ti	ni
ACT,AG,IRR=measure	1,PL,INC,ABS	D1,DEM,OBL,SP	___

'Let's measure *this one*.'

SPECIFIC FORM OF THE NONABSOLUTIVE SET WITH HEAD NOUN

(15)

Magsekeb	ki	*ti*	*na*	*mais*	*ni.*
mag=sekeb	ki	ti	na	mais	ni
ACT,AG,IRR=measure	1,PL,INC,ABS	D1,DEM,OBL,SP	LK	corn	___

'Let's measure *this corn*.'

ENCLITIC DEMONSTRATIVE

(16)

Sekeben	ta	mais	*i.*
sekeb=en	ta	mais	i
measure=ACT,TH,IRR	1,PL,INC,ERG	corn	DEF,N

'Let's measure *the/this* corn.'

DEICTIC ADVERB

(17)

Magsekeb	ki	ta	mais	*unti.*
mag=sekeb	ki	ta	mais	unti
ACT,AG,IRR=measure	1,PL,INC,ABS	OBL	corn	D1,A,G

'Let's measure the corn *here*.'

Kagayanen also has a set of attitude markers that are similar in form to the enclitic demonstratives: *i* marks a statement about the first person or something near him, *yan* second person or addressee and *ya* third person. When these occur in a clause the speaker of the clause is expressing some attitude he feels about what he is saying such as anger, sadness, rebuke, excitement, etc., or that he is under stress. The forms may be confused with the enclitic demonstratives, but they are a different set since the clause where they occur has a different intonation and their distribution is different than that of the enclitic demonstratives. They usually occur following the first word in a clause which may be a verb; however, they can occur in other positions. Normally more are found in quotes in narratives than on the main event line. These attitude markers are not the focus of this paper but are mentioned here because of their formal similarity to the enclitic demonstratives.

In example 18 the speaker expresses anxiety that there is no vehicle to ride where they are. In example 19 the speaker has thrown the addressee into a river to try to drown him and he really wants the addressee to die. In example 20 *ya* occurs since the reference to forehead is really a third person reference even though it is part of the speaker.

(18)

"Ula	*i*	sakayan	di."
ula	i	sakay=an	di
NEG	ATT	ride=NR	D1,A,SP

'"There is no vehicle here!"' (B6)

(19) "Mapatay ka *yan* en!"
ma=patay ka yan en
STAT,TH,IRR=die 2,SG,ABS ATT CM

'"You will die!"' (T4)

(20) "Argey, sakit ta takong ko *ya*."
argey sakit ta takong ko ya
ouch pain OBL forehead 1,SG,GEN ATT

'"Ouch, my forehead hurts!"' (T9)

1.2. Personal Pronouns

There are six sets of personal pronouns, each with first, second and third persons, singular and plural number (chart 2). First person plural has two forms: inclusive, which includes speaker and addressee, and exclusive, which includes the speaker and some other persons but excludes the addressee.

Third person pronouns have lost many distinctions in their forms in the different sets. Third singular absolutive and fronted absolutive are the same. All the third person plural forms are the same except for the possessive adjective. Because of this, third person will not be used as much in examples when illustrating the different pronouns and the structure of the noun phrase.

The absolutive set and the fronted absolutive set both occur as the absolutive noun phrase in the clause and they are cross-referenced on the verb (examples 21–22). The fronted absolutive indicates the topic of the story or paragraph. When the same form is not fronted it is emphatic (example 23). The ergative/genitive set[3] can occur in an ergative noun phrase (example 24) or as a genitive following the head noun (example 25). The possessive adjective set and the contrastive possessive adjective set occur preposed to the head noun like an adjective (examples 26–27). The adjective set also functions as a contrastive pronoun when it occurs following an absolutive pronoun of the same person and number (example 28). However, with the first person singular contrastive the absolutive is deleted (example 29). The oblique set is identical to the fronted absolutive set but they are preceded by the oblique personal marker *ki* (example 30).

[3] This set could be labeled ergative/possessive but the term genitive is used since the possessive adjective and the contrastive possessive adjective sets occur in different positions in the noun phrase.

Chart 2. Personal Pronouns and Possessive Pronouns*

	ABS	ERG/GEN	POSS,ADJ /CTR	POSS,ADJ ,CTR/CTR	FRNT,ABS/AB S,EMPH	OBL
1,SG	*a/aren*	*ko*	*ake*	*kende*	*yaken*	*ki yaken*
2,SG	*ka*	*no*	*imo*		*kaon*	*ki kaon*
3,SG	*kanen*	*din*	*iya*		*kanen*	*ki kanen*
1,PL,EX	*kay*	*nay*	*ame*	*mende*	*kami*	*ki kami*
1,PL,INC	*ki*	*ta*	*ate*	*tende*	*kiten*	*ki kiten*
2,PL	*kaw*	*nyo*	*inyo*		*kyo*	*ki kyo*
3,PL	*danen*	*danen*	*iran*		*danen*	*ki danen*

*Composite pronouns referring to the first person ergative and second person absolutive, *takaw* (2,SG) and *takyo* (2,PL) are not discussed in this paper.

ABSOLUTIVE SET AS ABSOLUTIVE NP

(21)

Tagan	*a*	din	ta	sid-anan	an.
atag=an	a	din	ta	sid=anan	an
give=ACT,LOC,IRR	1,SG,ABS	3,SG,ERG	OBL	viand	DEF,M

'He will give *me* some of the viand.'

FRONTED ABSOLUTIVE AS FRONTED NP

(22)

Yaken	i	tagan	din	ta	sid-anan.
yaken	i	atag=an	din	ta	sid=anan
1,SG,ABS	DEF,N	give=ACT,LOC,IRR	3,SG,ERG	OBL	viand

'*I am the one* to whom he will give some viand.'

EMPHATIC ABSOLUTIVE NOT FRONTED

(23)

Tagan	din	*yaken*	i	ta	sid-anan.
atag=an	din	yaken	i	ta	sid=anan
give=ACT,LOC,IRR	3,SG,ERG	1,SG,ABS,EMPH	DEF,N	OBL	viand

'He will give *me* some viand.'

ERGATIVE PRONOUN

(24)

Tagan	*ko*	kanen	an	ta	sid-anan	an.
atag=an	ko	kanen	an	ta	sid=anan	an
give=ACT,LOC,IRR	1,SG,ERG	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	OBL	viand	DEF,M

'*I* will give him some of the viand.'

GENITIVE (POSSESSIVE) PRONOUN

(25)

Tagan	ko	kanen	an	ta	sid-anan
atag=an	ko	kanen	an	ta	sid=anan
give=ACT,LOC,IRR	1,SG,ERG	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	OBL	viand

ko	i.	
ko	i	
1,SG,GEN	DEF,N	

'I will give him some of *my* viand.'

POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVE PRONOUN

(26)

Tagan	ko	kanen	an	ta	*ake*
atag=an	ko	kanen	an	ta	ake
give=ACT,LOC,IRR	1,SG,ERG	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	OBL	1,SG,POSS

i	na	sid-anan.
i	na	sid-anan
DEF,N	LK	viand

'I will give him some of *my* viand.'

CONTRASTIVE POSSESSIVE ADJECTIVE PRONOUN

(27)

Tagan	ko	kanen	ta	*kende*	na
atag=an	ko	kanen	ta	kende	na
give=ACT,LOC,IRR	1,SG,ERG	3,SG,ABS	OBL	1,SG,POSS,CTR	LK

sid-anan.
sid-anan
viand

'I will give him some of *my* (rather than someone else's) viand.'

CONTRASTIVE PRONOUN

(28)

Gaatag	*kay*	*ame*	ta	sid-anan	ki	kanen.
ga=atag	kay	ame	ta	sid-anan	ki	kanen
ACT,AG,R=give	1,PL,EX,ABS	1,PL,CTR	OBL	viand	OBL,P	3,SG,OBL

'*We ourselves* (rather than someone else) gave some viand to him.'

CONTRASTIVE PRONOUN

(29)

Gaatag	*ake*	ta	sid-anan	ki	kanen.
ga=atag	ake	ta	sid-anan	ki	kanen
ACT,AG,R=give	1,SG,CTR	OBL	viand	OBL,P	3,SG,OBL

'*I myself* (rather than someone else) gave some viand to him.'

OBLIQUE PRONOUN

(30)

Atag	din	sid-anan	din	an	*ki*	*yaken.*
atag	din	sid-anan	din	an	ki	yaken
give	3,SG,ERG	viand	3,SG,GEN	DEF,M	OBL,P	1,SG,ABS,OBL

'He gives/gave his viand *to me*.'

1.3. The Genitive Construction

The genitive construction is definite also. It is constructed of two noun phrases with *ta* 'GEN' between them. The first noun is the possessed and the second is the possessor in a

possessive relationship, as in example 31. The first is the part and the second is the whole in a part–whole relationship.

					POSSESSED	
(31)	Tagan	a	din	ta	*sid-anan*	*ta*
	atag=an	a	din	ta	sid-anan	ta
	give=ACT,LOC,IRR	1,SG,ABS	3,SG,ERG	OBL	viand	GEN

POSSESSOR	
mangngod	*din.*
Mangngod	din
younger.sibling	3,SG,GEN

'He will give me *some viand of his younger sibling.*'

1.4. The Oblique Construction with *naan*

This oblique construction consists of the definite spatial word *naan* followed by the oblique marker *ta*, or *ki* with personal noun phrases, which is followed by a noun that needs no other definite marker, as in examples 32–33).

(32)	Paatag	ko	sid-anan	ko	*naan*	*ta*	*bata.*
	pa=atag	ko	sid-anan	ko	naan	ta	bata
	ACT,TH,R=give	1,SG,ERG	viand	1,SG,GEN	SPAT,DEF	OBL	child

'I gave my viand *to the child.*'

(33)	Paatag	ko	sid-anan	ko	*naan*	*ki*	
	pa=atag	ko	sid-anan	ko	naan	ki	
	ACT,TH,R=give	1,SG,ERG	viand	1,SG,GEN	SPAT,DEF	OBL,P	

kanen.	
kanen	
3,SG,OBL	

'I gave my viand *to him.*'

2. Structure of the Noun Phrase

The noun phrase has an obligatory core as head. Preceding the core is an optional demonstrative and an optional modifier. Following the core is an optional modifier and an optional demonstrative. Between each of these constituents the linker *na* occurs, but it is contracted in the postposed demonstrative (see section 1). When the noun phrase has many modifiers, the linkers farther to the left drop out.

NP = +/– demonstrative +/– modifier + CORE +/– modifier^{n} +/– demonstrative

The co-occurrence restrictions on the constituents of the noun phrase are shown in chart 3 which gives the possible combinations and lists an example of each. Preposed and postposed demonstratives cannot co-occur and the postposed modifier and the postposed

demonstrative cannot co-occur. Up to three modifiers can occur in one noun phrase. Usually one precedes the core and the others follow.

Chart 3. Co-occurrence of constituents of the noun phrase

dem.	mod.	CORE		(example 34)
dem.		CORE		(example 35)
dem.	mod.	CORE	$mod.^{n}$	(example 36)
dem.		CORE	$mod.^{n}$	(example 37)
	mod.	CORE	$mod.^{n}$	(example 38)
	mod.	CORE		(example 39)
		CORE	$mod.^{n}$	(example 40)
		CORE		(example 41)

	DEMONSTRATIVE		MODIFIER		CORE
(34)	yi	na	tise	na	bai
	yi	na	tise	na	bai
	D1,DEM,ADJ,G	LK	small	LK	woman

'this small woman'

	DEMONSTRATIVE		CORE
(35)	yi	na	bai
	yi	na	bai
	D1,DEM,ADJ,G	LK	woman

'this woman'

	DEMONSTRATIVE		MODIFIER		CORE		MODIFIER	
(36)	yi	na	tise	na	bai	na	puti	na
	yi	na	tise	na	bai	na	puti	na
	D1,DEM,ADJ,G	LK	small	LK	woman	LK	white	LK

MODIFIER	
sikad	dayaw
sikad	dayaw
very	beautiful

'this small, white, very beautiful woman'

	DEMONSTRATIVE		CORE		MODIFIER		MODIFIER	
(37)	yi	na	bai	na	tise	na	puti	na
	yi	na	bai	na	tise	na	puti	na
	D1,DEM,ADJ,G	LK	woman	LK	small	LK	white	LK

	MODIFIER
	sikad dayaw
	sikad dayaw
	very beautiful

'this small, white, very beautiful woman'

(38)

MODIFIER		CORE		MODIFIER		MODIFIER	
tise	na	bai	na	puti	na	sikad	dayaw
tise	na	bai	na	puti	na	sikad	dayaw
small	LK	woman	LK	white	LK	very	beautiful

'small, white, very beautiful woman'

(39)

MODIFIER		CORE	DEMONSTRATIVE
tise	na	bai	nai
tise	na	bai	nai
small	LK	woman	D1,DEM.ABS

'this small woman'

(40)

CORE		MODIFIER		MODIFIER		MODIFIER	
bai	na	tise	na	puti	na	sikad	dayaw
bai	na	tise	na	puti	na	sikad	dayaw
woman	LK	small	LK	white	LK	very	beautiful

'small, white, very beautiful woman'

(41)

CORE	DEMONSTRATIVE
bai	nai
bai	nai
woman	D1,DEM.ABS

'this woman'

The core of the noun phrase is constructed of an obligatory head noun preceded by an optional plural marker *mga* and followed by an optional genitive pronoun,[4] an optional adverb *nang* 'only' and an optional enclitic demonstrative — either *i*, *an* or *ya* (example 42 NP2). The enclitic demonstrative in the core cannot co-occur with a preposed/postposed demonstrative. When a genitive pronoun (set 2) occurs, it follows the head noun and precedes the adverb.

Core NP = +/– PLM + HEAD +/– GEN +/– ADV +/– DEF

The head noun can be a noun, a pronoun or a demonstrative. However, when a pronoun (except an absolutive emphatic) or demonstrative occurs as the head noun, the other constituents of the core may not occur (examples 43 and 44 NP2). The demonstrative enclitics can occur with the absolutive emphatic pronouns.

[4] The genitive pronoun could be analyzed as a separate noun phrase, e.g. 'the hat of her'. However, since it is an enclitic and is not separated from the other core constituents by the linker *na*, and since it moves with the other core constituents (cf. example 45), it is listed here as a constituent of the core.

CORE OF THE NP

		NP1	NP2				
(42)	Gangalala	kanen	*ta*	*mga*	*bata*	*ko*	*nang*
	ga=ngalala	kanen	ta	mga	bata	ko	nang
	ACT,AG,R=introduce	3,SG,ABS	OBL	PLM	child	1,SG,GEN	only

ya.
ya
DEF,F

'He introduced himself to *my children only*.'

ABSOLUTIVE PERSONAL PRONOUN AS CORE

(43)	Gapanaw	*kanen*	gina.
	ga=panaw	kanen	gina
	ACT,TH,R=go	3,SG,ABS	earlier

'*He* left earlier.'

ABSOLUTIVE DEMONSTRATIVE AS CORE

		NP1	NP2
(44)	Paayos	din	*ni.*
	pa=ayos	din	ni
	ACT,TH,R=fix	3,SG,ERG	D1,DEM,ABS

'He fixed *this*.'

As can be seen in example 42, there is normally no linker between the constituents of the core of the noun phrase. However, when a preposed modifier occurs in the noun phrase without a preposed demonstrative, the core's genitive pronoun, adverb and/or enclitic demonstrative moves to the left after the adjective in the preposed modifier and the linker occurs before the core. Note that the plural marker remains in the core (example 45).

	MODIFIER					CORE	
(45)	tise	*ko*	*nang*	*i*	na	mga	mangngod
	tise	ko	nang	i	na	mga	mangngod
	small	1,SG,GEN	only	DEF,N	LK	PLM	younger.sibling

'*my* small younger siblings *only*'

The preposed and postposed modifiers may be an adjective, an adjective phrase, a numeral, a numeral phrase or a preposed possessive adjective pronoun. The adjective phrase consists of an optional degree word such as *sikad* 'very,' an optional intensifier *gid* and the head adjective, as in example 46.

	MODIFIER				CORE
(46)	*sikad*	*gid*	*bakod*	na	balay
	sikad	gid	bakod	na	balay
	very	INS	big	LK	house

'a *really very big* house'

The numeral phrase consists of an optional *mga* 'approximately', the head numeral and an optional noun classifier such as *buok* 'piece', *panid* 'sheet' and *bilog* 'round'. Only when *mga* occurs before a numeral, as in example 47, does it mean approximately rather than plural (cf. example 45).

	MODIFIER				CORE
(47)	mga	tallo	buok	na	baboy
	mga	tallo	buok	na	baboy
	approximately	three	piece	LK	pig

'about three pigs'

The preposed demonstrative consists of a demonstrative from two sets, the preposed adjective set and the preposed emphatic adjective set (example 48). The postposed demonstrative consists of the postposed adjective set (example 49).

	DEMONSTRATIVE		CORE	
(48)	*yi*	na	mangngod	ko
	yi	na	mangngod	ko
	D1,DEM,ADJ,G	LK	younger.sibling	1,SG,GEN

'*this* my younger sibling'

			CORE	DEMONSTRATIVE
(49)	ake	na	mangngod	*nai*
	ake	na	mangngod	nai
	1,SG,POSS	LK	younger.sibling	D1,DEM,ADJ,

'*this* my younger sibling'

3. Evidence that *i*, *an*, and *ya* are not Case Markers

In many clauses *i*, *an* and *ya* appear to be functioning as case markers indicating the noun which is cross-referenced on the verb. For example, in 50 the noun phrase (NP2) is marked by *ya* and is also cross-referenced on the verb with the affix *pa-*. The noun phrases (NP1 and NP3) that are not cross-referenced are not marked with any of the enclitic demonstratives.

	VERB	NP1-ERG		NP2-ABS				
(50)	Pabetang	ta	pwikan	*tama*	*ya*	*na*	*mga*	*tellek*
	pa=betang	ta	pwikan	tama	ya	na	mga	tellek
	ACT,TH,R=put	ERG	turtle	many	DEF,F	LK	PLM	thorn

NP3-OBL				
naan	ta	lawa	ta	saging.
naan	ta	lawa	ta	saging
SPAT,DEF	OBL	trunk	GEN	banana

'Turtle put *the many thorns* on the trunk of the banana plant.'

However, I propose that they are not case markers for four reasons: (1) These markers can occur with any noun phrase including ergative, absolutive, and oblique, as shown in

examples 51–59. (2) They can occur on more than one noun phrase in a single clause, also shown in examples 51–59. (3) They occur after the head noun or its preceding modifier while the case marker *ta* for ergative, possessive and oblique cases, i.e. nonabsolutive, precedes the whole noun phrase except for *naan* in the oblique. If they were truly case markers they would occur in the same position as *ta*. (4) They are not required in a noun phrase, even an absolutive.

Chart 4 shows the distribution of the enclitic demonstratives in definite specific ergative, absolutive, oblique and genitive noun phrases in conversation. Chart 5 shows their distribution in narratives. The charts also show their unmarked usage, that is, with no special meaning or function. In conversation, the unmarked usage is that they do occur with common nouns in any of the cases, with proper nouns in the absolutive case and with possessive phrases and descriptive phrases in any of the cases. They usually do not occur on proper nouns in oblique phrases in either conversation or narratives. Their unmarked occurrence in narratives is more limited; special marked meanings or functions can be indicated by their use or omission (see sections 5.3–5.10). They tend to be omitted in the genitive and ergative cases when the referent has already been established as definite.

Chart 4. Enclitic demonstratives in different types of NPs in conversation

TYPE OF NOMINAL		ERG	ABS	OBL	GEN
COMMON NOUN	Occur	+/–	+	+	+/–
	Unmarked	+	+	+	+
POSSESSIVE/DESCRIPTIVE PHRASE	Occur	+/–	+/–	+/–	+/–
	Unmarked	+	+	+	+
PROPER NOUN/ 3RD PERSON PRONOUN	Occur	–	+/–	+/–	–
	Unmarked	–	+	–	–
	Marked			+	

Chart 5. Enclitic demonstratives in different types of NPs in narratives

TYPE OF NOMINAL		ERG	ABS	OBL	GEN
COMMON NOUN	Occur	+/–	+	+	+/–
	Unmarked	–	+	+	–
POSSESSIVE/DESCRIPTIVE PHRASE	Occur	+/–	+/–	+/–	+/–
	Unmarked	–	–	–	–
	Marked	+	+	+	+
PROPER NOUN/ 3RD PERSON PRONOUN	Occur	–	+/–	+/–	–
	Unmarked	–	–	–	–
	Marked		+	+	

In examples 51–53 *i*, *an* and *ya*, respectively, occur in ergative noun phrases.

	VERB	NP1-ERG			NP2-ABS			
(51)	Pabetang	*ta*	*Pwikan*	*i*	tama	ya	na	mga
	pa=betang	ta	pwikan	i	tama	ya	na	mga
	ACT,TH,R=put	ERG	turtle	DEF,N	many	DEF,F	LK	PLM

	NP3-OBL				
tellek	naan	ta	lawa	ta	saging.
tellek	naan	ta	lawa	ta	saging
thorn	SPAT	OBL	trunk	GEN	banana

'*Turtle* put the many thorns into the trunk of the banana plant.'

	VERB	NP1-ERG			NP2-ABS			
(52)	Pabetang	*ta*	*Pwikan*	*an*	tama	ya	na	mga
	pa=betang	ta	pwikan	an	tama	ya	na	mga
	ACT,TH,R=put	ERG	turtle	DEF,M	many	DEF,F	LK	PLM

	NP3-OBL				
tellek	naan	ta	lawa	ta	saging.
tellek	naan	ta	lawa	ta	saging
thorn	SPAT	OBL	trunk	GEN	banana

'*Turtle* put the many thorns into the trunk of the banana plant.'

	VERB	NP1-ERG			NP2-ABS			
(53)	Pabetang	*ta*	*Pwikan*	*ya*	tama	ya	na	mga
	pa=betang	ta	pwikan	ya	tama	ya	na	mga
	ACT,TH,R=put	ERG	turtle	DEF,F	many	DEF,F	LK	PLM

	NP3-OBL				
tellek	naan	ta	lawa	ta	saging.
tellek	naan	ta	lawa	ta	saging
thorn	SPAT	OBL	trunk	GEN	banana

'*Turtle* put the many thorns into the trunk of the banana plant.'

In examples 54–56 *i*, *an* and *ya*, respectively, occur in absolutive noun phrases.

	VERB	NP1-ERG	NP2-ABS					NP3-OBL
(54)	Pabetang	din	*tama*	*i*	*na*	*mga*	*tellek*	naan
	pa=betang	din	tama	i	na	mga	tellek	naan
	ACT,TH,R=put	3,SG,ERG	many	DEF,N	LK	PLM	thorn	SPAT,DEF

ta	lawa	ta	saging.
ta	lawa	ta	saging
OBL	trunk	GEN	banana

'He put *the many thorns* into the trunk of the banana plant.'

	VERB	NP1-ERG	NP2-ABS					NP3-OBL
(55)	Pabetang	din	*tama*	*an*	*na*	*mga*	*tellek*	naan
	pa=betang	din	tama	an	na	mga	tellek	naan
	ACT,TH,R=put	3,SG,ERG	many	DEF,M	LK	PLM	thorn	SPAT,DEF

ta	lawa	ta	saging.
ta	lawa	ta	saging
OBL	trunk	GEN	banana

'He put *the many thorns* into the trunk of the banana plant.'

	VERB	NP1-ERG	NP2-ABS					NP3-OBL
(56)	Pabetang	din	*tama*	*ya*	*na*	*mga*	*tellek*	naan
	pa=betang	din	tama	ya	na	mga	tellek	naan
	ACT,TH,R=put	3,SG,ERG	many	DEF,F	LK	PLM	thorn	SPAT,DEF

ta	lawa	ta	saging.
ta	lawa	ta	saging
OBL	trunk	GEN	banana

'He put *the many thorns* into the trunk of the banana plant.'

In examples 57–59 *i*, *an* and *ya*, respectively, occur in oblique noun phrases.

	VERB	NP1-ERG	NP2-ABS					NP3-OBL
(57)	Pabetang	din	tama	an	na	mga	tellek	*naan*
	pa=betang	din	tama	an	na	mga	tellek	naan
	ACT,TH,R=put	3,SG,ERG	many	DEF,M	LK	PLM	thorn	SPAT,DEF

ta	*lawa*	*i*	*ta*	*saging.*
ta	lawa	i	ta	saging
OBL	trunk	DEF,N	GEN	banana

'He put the many thorns *into the trunk of the banana plant.*'

(58)

VERB	NP1-ERG	NP2-ABS					NP3-OBL
Pabetang	din	tama	an	na	mga	tellek	*naan*
pa=betang	din	tama	an	na	mga	tellek	naan
ACT,TH,R=put	3,SG,ERG	many	DEF,M	LK	PLM	thorn	SPAT,DEF

ta	*lawa*	*an*	*ta*	*saging.*
ta	lawa	an	ta	saging
OBL	trunk	DEF,M	GEN	banana

'He put the many thorns *into the trunk of the banana plant.*'

(59)

VERB	NP1-ERG	NP2-ABS					NP3-OBL
Pabetang	din	tama	an	na	mga	tellek	*naan*
pa=betang	din	tama	an	na	mga	tellek	naan
ACT,TH,R=put	3,SG,ERG	many	DEF,M	LK	PLM	thorn	SPAT,DEF

ta	*lawa*	*ya*	*ta*	*saging.*
ta	lawa	ya	ta	saging
OBL	trunk	DEF,F	GEN	banana

'He put the many thorns *into the trunk of the banana plant.*'

In examples 60–62 *i*, *an* and *ya* do not occur in the ergative noun phrase, absolutive noun phrase, nor the oblique noun phrase, respectively.

(60)

VERB	NP1-ERG		NP2-ABS				
Pabetang	*ta*	*Pwikan*	tama	ya	na	mga	tellek
pa=betang	ta	pwikan	tama	ya	na	mga	tellek
ACT,TH,R=put	ERG	turtle	many	DEF,F	LK	PLM	thorn

NP3-OBL				
naan	ta	lawa	ta	saging.
naan	ta	lawa	ta	saging
SPAT.DEF	OBL	trunk	GEN	banana

'*Turtle* put the many thorns into the trunk of the banana plant.'

(61)

VERB	NP1-ERG	NP2-ABS				NP3-OBL
Pabetang	din	*tama*	*na*	*mga*	*tellek*	naan
pa=betang	din	tama	na	mga	tellek	naan
ACT,TH,R=put	3,SG,ERG	many	LK	PLM	thorn	SPAT,DEF

ta	lawa	ta	saging.
ta	lawa	ta	saging
OBL	trunk	GEN	banana

'He put *the many thorns* into the trunk of the banana plant.'

(62)

VERB	NP1-ERG	NP2-ABS					NP3-OBL
Pabetang	din	tama	an	na	mga	tellek	*naan*
pa=betang	din	tama	an	na	mga	tellek	naan
ACT,TH,R=put	3,SG,ERG	many	DEF,M	LK	PLM	thorn	SPAT,DEF

ta	*lawa*	*ta*	*saging.*
ta	lawa	ta	saging
OBL	trunk	GEN	banana

'He put the many thorns *into the trunk of the banana plant.*'

Even though the function of *i, an* and *ya* is not to mark case, this does not mean that Kagayanen does not mark the cross-referenced nominal. (Only one nominal is cross-referenced on a verb.) The cross-referenced nominal is the one with zero case marking, that is the one not marked with *ta*, the nonabsolutive marker, nor with *ki*, oblique for personal names and pronouns. The cross-referenced nominal must be referential and definite, but it may be either a specific or nonspecific (generic) reference. If a demonstrative occurs as the head in the core of the cross-referenced noun phrase, it must be from one of the absolutive sets; similarly, pronouns must be from one of the absolutive sets.

In example 63 the affix *pa-* cross-references the Theme. Both noun phrases in this clause are definite and specific. But only the absolutive pronoun, *kanen* 'he', can be cross-referenced since the second noun phrase is marked with *ta*.

	VERB	NP1	NP2			
(63)	Paumaw	kanen	*ta*	iya	na	amay.
	pa=umaw	kanen	ta	iya	na	amay
	ACT,TH,R=call	3,SG,ABS	ERG	3,SG,POSS	LK	father

'His father called him.'

In example 64 the affix *ga-* cross-references the Theme. Both noun phrases are marked with the enclitic demonstratives. The noun phrase *kaoy* 'tree' is marked with *ta*; therefore, it is not the cross-referenced noun phrase, but rather the absolutive pronoun is the cross-referenced noun phrase.

	VERB	NP1			NP2		
(64)	Gapanilag	kanen	*an*	anay	ta	kaoy	*i.*
	ga=panilag	kanen	an	anay	ta	kaoy	i
	ACT,TH,R=observe	3,S,ABS	DEF,M	first	OBL	tree	DEF,N

'He first observed the tree.'

4. Evidence that *i, an,* and *ya* are Enclitic Forms of the Demonstratives

The following discussion will show why *i, an* and *ya* are enclitic forms of the demonstratives. First the similarities of these particles to the demonstratives will be discussed and then the differences.

Like the other demonstratives, these enclitic demonstratives have spatial distinctions; however, they only have three degrees of deixis while the other demonstratives have four (see chart 6). The medium enclitic *an* equals both degrees two and three of the other

demonstratives. Notice that the forms of the absolutive demonstrative and the enclitic demonstratives are very similar with only the initial *n* (or *ny*) distinguishing them.

Chart 6. Similarities of the absolutive and the enclitic demonstratives

ABSOLUTIVE			ENCLITIC	
D1.	*ni*	near speaker	*i*	near
D2.	*nyan*	near speaker and addressee	*an*	medium
D3.	*nan*	near addressee		
D4.	*nya*	far from both	*ya*	far

The characteristics of a demonstrative according to Halliday and Hasan are: (1) Demonstratives are semantically selective.

> They contain within themselves some referential element in terms of which the item in question is to be identified (1976:71).

(2) Demonstratives can occur elliptically, that is a demonstrative may occur without a head noun. (3) Demonstrative referencing is essentially a form of verbal pointing. The speaker identifies the referent by locating it on a scale of proximity.

I, *an* and *ya* fit this definition of demonstratives except that they cannot occur elliptically; the other demonstratives can occur elliptically. Thus the function of the other demonstratives is to refer to things while *i*, *an* and *ya* only function to mark the noun referring to things. Noun phrases with the other demonstratives refer only to things in the communication situation while noun phrases with *i*, *an* and *ya* refer to things either in the communication situation or in the text itself. Similarly the other demonstratives can refer to what will be said or was said in a text as a whole, an episode or a paragraph, for example, a conclusion might be: "That was my experience", referring to the whole text. *I*, *an* and *ya* cannot; they only mark noun phrases referring to participants, props, and nominalized clauses. These enclitics, thus, partially fit Halliday and Hasan's description of a definite marker:

> It merely indicates that the item in question is specific and identifiable; that somewhere the information necessary for identifying it is recoverable (1976:71).

I, *an* and *ya* occur in the core of the noun phrase as a modifier of the head or immediately following a preposed modifier while the other demonstratives occur in the preposed/postposed demonstrative positions or as the head in the core (see section 3). Note however, that only one demonstrative can occur within a single noun phrase and that *i*, *an*, and *ya* are mutually exclusive with all of the other sets shown in chart 1. This fact supports the position that they are demonstratives.

[5] *I*, *an* and *ya* may be in the process of being reanalyzed as definite markers. According to Givón (1983:418–419) part of this process is semantic bleaching of the deictic distinctions.

5. The Functions of *i*, *an*, and *ya* in Narrative

The functions of the enclitic demonstratives in narrative are (1) to mark nominals that are not inherently definite as definite (section 5.1), (2) to mark a definite nonspecific nominal as specific (section 5.2), (3) to locate a referent with reference to the speaker (section 5.3), (4) to locate events on a time line (section 5.4), (5) to mark a nominalized clause (section 5.5), and (6) to occur sentence-finally with absolutive or topic nouns (section 5.6). In addition, each has functions that are unique to it. Functions unique to *i* are discussed in section 5.7, *an* in section 5.8 and *ya* in section 5.9. Then in section 5.10 situations where no enclitic demonstrative occurs are discussed.

5.1. Mark Nominals that are not Inherently Definite as Definite

The enclitic demonstratives mark nouns that are not inherently definite as definite and specific (examples 65–67). Common nouns without some definite marker are understood by Kagayanens as indefinite referents. Common nouns may also be marked as definite with any of the other definite markers such as the other demonstratives, possessives, adjectives, genitives or descriptives.

(65)

Pabetangan	din	*saging*	*i*	ta	tellek.
pa=betang=an	din	saging	i	ta	tellek
ACT,LOC,R=put=___	3,SG,ERG	banana	DEF,N	OBL	thorn

'He put some thorns into *the banana plant*.'

(66) *Pabetangan din *saging* Ø ta tellek.

*'He put some thorns into *a banana* plant.'

(67)

Galayag	kay	nang	en	na	ula	nay
ga=layag	kay	nang	en	na	ula	nay
ACT,TH,R=sail	1,PL,EX,ABS	only	CM	LK	NEG	1,PL,EX,ERG

nlami	daw	indi	kay	punta	asta
na=alam=I	daw	indi	kay	punta	asta
STAT,TH,R=know=___	if	where	1,PL,EX,ABS	going	until

nang	en	na	gagisi	*layag*	*i.*
nang	en	na	ga=gisi	layag	i
only	INC	LK	ACT,TH,R=tear	sail	DEF,N

'We were sailing not knowing where we were going until even *the sail* became torn.'

At times it appears that some definite common nouns occur without any definite marking. The reason for this is that definite nonspecific common nouns do not take the enclitic demonstrative unless they are being marked as specific (see section 5.2). The enclitic demonstratives do not occur with nonreferential nominals (example 68),

referential indefinite nominals (example 69), or referential definite nonspecific nominals (example 70).[6]

(68)

Pamatyag	ko	daw	ula	aren	*bekkeg.*
pang=batyag	ko	daw	ula	aren	bekkeg
DIST=feel	1,SG,ERG	if	NEG	1,SG,ABS	bones

'I felt as if I had no *bones.*' (B1)

(69)

Na	naan	kay	ta	kambiraan	*may*	*isya*
na	naan	kay	ta	kambira=an	may	isya
when	SPAT,DEF	1,PL,EX,ABS	OBL	feast=place	EXT.INDEF	certain

na	*bai*	na	gasagpon.
na	bai	na	ga=sagpon
LK	woman	LK	ACT,TH,R=pregnant

'When we were at the feast *there was a certain woman* who was pregnant.' (B2)
*'When we were at the feast *there was the woman* who was pregnant.'

(70)

Ula	din	natan-aw	gantangan	ya	na
ula	din	na=tan-aw	gantang=an	ya	na
NEG	3,SG,ERG	ACT,TH,R=look.at	2-1/2.gallon=NR	DEF,F	LK

may	*anen*	*bilin*	*na*	*blawan.*
may	anen	bilin	na	blawan
EXT,INDEF	EXT,DEF	leave	LK	gold

'He did not look at the 2 1/2-gallon measuring device which *had some of the gold which was left.*' (T2)

5.2. Mark Definite Nonspecific Nominals as Specific

Some nominals may be definite but nonspecific such as generic class names, limited sets of things, and ambient things. These usually occur without definite marking. When the enclitic demonstratives occur with these nouns, they are specific, i.e. one certain member of a generic class, one member of a limited set or one part of an ambient thing. The basic way they are marked as specific is with *an*. *I* and *ya* may also occur but give special meaning (see sections 5.7 and 5.9).

Example 71 illustrates a definite nonspecific reference *baybay* 'beach' in an oblique phrase with no definite marking. The reference is to the beach as a whole. Example 72 illustrates a definite specific reference to the beach with an enclitic demonstrative.

[6] Nonreferential nominals are marked with *duma* 'some', *duma na ittaw* 'other people', negation (as in example 68), or in an oblique phrase without *naan*. Referential indefinite nominals are marked with a *may* existential clause, *isya* 'one/a certain' in an ergative or genitive phrase, or in an oblique phrase without *naan*. Referential definite nonspecific nominals are marked with a *may anen* existential clause and a noun phrase with no definite marking.

								OBL
(71)	Balay	nay	naan	ta	Santa	Cruz	madyo	*ta*
	balay	nay	naan	ta	Santa	Crus	madyo	ta
	house	1,PL,EX,GEN	SPAT,DEF	OBL	Santa	Cruz	far	OBL

baybay.
baybay
beach

'Our house in Santa Cruz is far from *the beach*.' (B1)

	OBL					
(72)	Giling	kanen	unti	ta	*baybay*	*i*.
	Ga=iling	kanen	unti	ta	baybay	i
	ACT,TH,R=go	3,SG,ABS	D1,A,SP	OBL	beach	DEF,N

'He came here to *the beach*.' (B7)

5.3. Locate an Object in Relation to a Point of Reference

When an enclitic demonstrative does not occur in the unmarked form (see chart 4) but is present in the text, it may signal degrees of spatial deixis as well as one of the other functions discussed in sections 5.4–5.9.

In conversations, first person accounts, and quotes in traditional narratives the enclitic demonstratives signal exophoric degrees of spatial deixis with reference to the speaker. In third person accounts and traditional narratives the point of reference is the participant who is the focus of attention (see section 5.7).

When the point of reference is the speaker, *i* occurs when the referent of the noun that is marked is close to the speaker (example 73 and *sawangan i* in example 108); *an* occurs when the referent of the noun is somewhere near by (example 74); and *ya* occurs when the referent of the noun is far from both the speaker and addressee (example 75).

(73)	Nagisi	libro	no	*i*.
	na=gisi	libro	no	i
	CIRC,TH,R=tear	book	2,SG,GEN	DEF,N

'Your book (near me) is torn.'

(74)	Nagisi	libro	no	*an*.
	na=gisi	libro	no	an
	CIRC,TH,R=tear	book	2,SG,GEN	DEF,M

'Your book (close by) is torn.'

(75)	Nagisi	libro	no	*ya*.
	na=gisi	libro	no	ya
	CIRC,TH,R=tear	book	2,SG,GEN	DEF,F

'Your book (far away) is torn.'

Example 76 is from a first person account; the speaker is the point of reference. He was very sick in the story and he calls his children to come to him and pray. After they have

prayed and they are still near him, he tells them to go get help. Since they are near him *i* occurs.

(76)

Pagpapawa	man	en,	pasugo	ko	bata
pag=CV=pawa	man	en	pa=sugo	ko	bata
GER=DIM=bright	also	CM	ACT,TH,R=sent	1,SG,ERG	child

ko	*i*	daw	ake	na	umagad.
ko	i	daw	ake	na	umagad
1,SG,GEN	DEF,N	and	1,SG,POSS	LK	son.in.law

'When it had dawned, I sent off my child and my son-in-law.' (B1)

Example 77 is from another first person account. The speaker and those with him kept sailing in a typhoon while the other sailboats that were with them moved far away from them when they returned back to the island of Cagayancillo. Therefore, *ya* occurs with the reference to the ones which moved away.

(77)

Duma	*ya*	na	blangay	ubos	balik	ta	Cagayancillo.
duma	ya	na	blangay	ubos	balik	ta	Cagayancillo
other	DEF,F	LK	2.mast.sailboat	all	return	OBL	Cagayancillo

'All the other two-mast sailboats returned to Cagayancillo.' (B4)

Example 78 is from a traditional narrative about a race between a turtle and a hermit crab. Hermit Crab got his companion hermit crabs to spread out along the course of the race so that a hermit crab would always be ahead of Turtle. Turtle shouts out asking Hermit Crab where he is and the hermit crab that is far ahead of him answers. This crab is marked with *ya*.

(78)

Pag-abot	en	man	ta	adyu-adyo	ya,	singgit	en	man
pag=abot	en	man	ta	CRD=adyo	ya	singgit	en	man
GER=arrive	CM	also	OBL	DIM=far	DEF,F	shout	CM	also

kanen	an,	"Umang!	Indi	ka	yan	en?"
kanen	an	umang	indi	ka	yan	en
3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	hermit.crab	where	2,SG,ABS	ATT,M	CM

Sabat	man	*umang*	*ya*	na	naan	unso
sabat	man	umang	ya	na	naan	unso
answer	also	hermit.crab	DEF,F	LK	SPAT,DEF	D4,A,SP

unaan	ya.	Ambal	din,	"Anen	aren	unti.
una=an	ya	ambal	din	anen	aren	unti
first=place	DEF,F	say	3,SG,ERG	EXT,DEF	1,SG,ABS	D1,A,SP

Una	aren	kaon."
una	aren	kaon
first	1,SG,ABS	2,SG,OBL

'When he arrived at a place a little farther, he shouted, "Hermit Crab! Where are you?" *The hermit crab* that was there far ahead answered. He said, "I am here. I am ahead of you."' (T7)

Each quote is a text within itself. The spatial deixis of the enclitic demonstrative is in relation to the participant who is speaking and the participant who is the addressee. In example 79 the noun *bula* 'ball' is marked with *i* since in the story the speaker, *pangka* 'frog,' is holding the ball.

(79)

Sabat	ta	pangka,	"Dili	ka	magprublima.
sabat	ta	pangka	dili	ka	mag=prublima
answer	OBL	frog	NEG	2,SG,ABS	ACT,TH,IRR=problem

Daw	gusto	no,	atag	ko	ki	kaon
daw	gusto	no	atag	ko	ki	kaon
if	want	2,SG,ERG	give	1,SG,ERG	OBL,P	2,SG,OBL

imo	*i*	*na*	*bula*	piro	may	kundisyon.
imo	i	na	bula	piro	may	kundisyon
2,SG,POSS	DEF,N	LK	ball	but	EXT.INDEF	condition

'The frog answered, "Do not worry. If you want, I will give you *your ball* but there is a condition."'

5.4. Locate Events on a Time Line

The spatial function of the enclitic demonstratives has been extended to time. In conversations and direct quotes, they locate events on a time line with respect to the speech act. In narratives, they locate events on a time line with respect to the event line of the story.

When *i* occurs on time words such as days of the week, months, and years, it gives the meaning of the immediate day, month, or year of that name (examples 80–81). When *an* occurs on these nouns, it means the following day, month, or year of that name, i.e. less immediate (examples 83 and 84). *An* occurs also on clauses that are concerning daily or monthly occurrences (example 82). It is not as specific as *i* (example 83). When *ya* occurs on these time nouns, it means either the past when the mood of the verb is realis (examples 85–86) or remote future when the mood of the verb is irrealis (examples 87–88). When no enclitic demonstrative occurs on these time nouns, no specific day, month, or year is specified (examples 89–90).

(80)

Adlaw	*i*	na	Sabado	miling	ki	ta
adlaw	i	na	Sabado	m=iling	ki	ta
day	DEF,N	LK	Saturday	ACT,TH,IRR=go	1,PL,INC,ABS	OBL

Valencia.
Valencia
Valencia

'The day of Saturday (the one following immediately) we will go to Valencia.' /'This coming Saturday we will go to Valencia.'

(81)

Sabado	*i*	miling	ki	ta	Valencia.
Sabado	i	m=iling	ki	ta	Valencia
Saturday	DEF,N	ACT,TH,IRR=go	1,PL,INC,ABS	OBL	Valencia

'Saturday (the one following immediately) we will go to Valencia.' /'This coming Saturday we will go to Valencia.'

(82)

Adlaw	*an*	na	Sabado	miling	ki	ta
adlaw	an	na	Sabado	m=iling	ki	ta
day	DEF,M	LK	Saturday	ACT,TH,IRR=go	1,PL,INC,ABS	OBL

Valencia.
Valencia
Valencia

'The day of Saturday (each one) we go to Valencia.'

(83)

Sabado	*an*	miling	ki	ta	Valencia.
Sabado	an	m=iling	ki	ta	Valencia
Saturday	DEF,M	ACT,TH,IRR=go	1,PL,INC,ABS	OBL	Valencia

'Saturday we will go to Valencia (not as specific as *i*).'

(84)

Pag-abot	ta	sellem	*an*,	Umang	i	daw
pag=abot	ta	sellem	an	umang	i	daw
GER=arrive	GEN	morning	DEF,M	hermit.crab	DEF,N	and

Pwikan	i	giling	en	ta	baybay.
pwikan	i	ga=iling	en	ta	baybay
turtle	DEF,N	ACT,TH,R=go	CM	OBL	beach

'When morning arrived, Hermit Crab and Turtle went to the beach.'

(85)

Adlaw	*ya*	na	Sabado	giling	ki	ta
adlaw	ya	na	Sabado	ga=iling	ki	ta
day	DEF,F	LK	Saturday	ACT,TH,R=go	1,PL,INC,ABS	OBL

Valencia.
Valencia
Valencia

'The day of Saturday (past) we went to Valencia.'

(86)

Sabado	*ya*	giling	ki	ta	Valencia.
Sabado	ya	ga=iling	ki	ta	Valencia
Saturday	DEF,F	ACT,TH,R=go	1,PL,INC,ABS	OBL	Valencia

'Saturday (past) we went to Valencia.'

(87)

Adlaw	*ya*	na	Sabado	miling	ki	ta
adlaw	ya	na	Sabado	m=iling	ki	ta
day	DEF,F	LK	Saturday	ACT,TH,IRR=go	1,PL,INC,ABS	OBL

Valencia.
Valencia
Valencia

'The day of Saturday we will go to Valencia (a long time in future).'

(88)

Sabado	*ya*	miling	ki	ta	Valencia.
Sabado	ya	m=iling	ki	ta	Valencia
Saturday	DEF,F	ACT,TH,IRR=go	1,PL,INC,ABS	OBL	Valencia

'Saturday we will go to Valencia (far in the future).'

(89)	Adlaw	na	Sabado	miling	ki	ta	Valencia.
	adlaw	na	Sabado	m=iling	ki	ta	Valencia
	day	LK	Saturday	ACT,TH,IRR=go	1,PL,INC,ABS	OBL	Valencia

'On Saturdays we go to Valencia.'

(90)	Sabado	miling	ki	ta	Valencia.
	Sabado	m=iling	ki	ta	Valencia
	Saturday	ACT,TH,IRR=go	1,PL,INC,ABS	OBL	Valencia

'Saturday we will go to Valencia.'

When enclitic demonstratives occur on nouns other than time words, they can indicate distinctions in time as well as space. *I* indicates present and immediate time in the past or future depending on the mood of the verb (examples 91 and 94). *An* indicates more distant time in the past or future (examples 92 and 95), and *ya* far distant time in the past or future (examples 93 and 96). However, spatial distinctions have priority over temporal. If a referent is close to the speaker but the action took place in remote past time, *i* occurs. If a referent is far from the speaker, but the action takes place in the present or immediate future, *ya* occurs.

(91)	Pabasa	ko	sulat	no	*i.*
	pa=basa	ko	sulat	no	i
	ACT,TH,R=read	1,SG,ERG	letter	2,SG,GEN	DEF,N

'I read your letter (present or immediate past).' (The letter is close to the speaker.)

(92)	Pabasa	ko	sulat	no	*an.*
	pa=basa	ko	sulat	no	an
	ACT,TH,R=read	1,SG,ERG	letter	2,SG,GEN	DEF,M

'I read your letter (yesterday or earlier today).' (The letter is near by the speaker.)

(93)	Pabasa	ko	sulat	no	*ya.*
	pa=basa	ko	sulat	no	ya
	ACT,TH,R=read	1,SG,ERG	letter	2,SG,GEN	DEF,F

'I read your letter (a long time ago).' (The letter is far away from the speaker.)

(94)	Basaen	ko	sulat	no	*i.*
	basa=en	ko	sulat	no	i
	ACT,TH,IRR=read	1,SG,ERG	letter	2,SG,GEN	DEF,N

'I will read your letter (immediate future).' (The letter is close to the speaker.)

(95)	Basaen	ko	sulat	no	*an.*
	Basa=en	ko	sulat	no	an
	ACT,TH,IRR=read	1,SG,ERG	letter	2,SG,GEN	DEF,M

'I will read your letter (later).' (The letter is farther away from the speaker.)

(96)	Basaen	ko	sulat	no	*ya.*
	basa=en	ko	sulat	no	ya
	ACT,TH,IRR=read	1,SG,ERG	letter	2,SG,GEN	DEF.F

'I will read your letter (much later).' (The letter is farther away from the speaker.)

In narratives a nominal may be marked with *ya* if it refers to something that happened earlier or later in the story line than that point in the story. In example 97 the participant is laughing at a joke stated earlier in the story.

(97)	Gatatawa	a	pa	ta	*laeg*	*ya*	ta
	ga=CV=tawa	a	pa	ta	laeg	ya	ta
	ACT,TH,R=RP=laugh	1,SG,ABS	INC	OBL	joke	DEF,F	GEN

sawa	ko.
sawa	ko
spouse	1,SG,GEN

'I was laughing at the *joke* (earlier in the story) of my husband.' (B2)

5.5. Mark Time Lapse in Nominalized Clauses

There are two types of nominalized clauses which are optionally marked with the enclitic demonstratives; one is a *pag-* intransitive clause which repeats the event of the previous clause in a subordinate 'when' circumstance clause and the other is a clause that has an adverb which is descriptive of an event in the story, not itself an event on the story line. (Optional here means it occurs in the construction many times both with and without the enclitics, but the language assistant says that the proper way to speak is with the markers and it is more complete with them.)

In example 98 from a traditional narrative the first clause is about a fish who comes out of hiding in the limestones. The second clause repeats the event of the first clause in a circumstantial *pag-* clause. Since this is the second mention of the event, it is definite and can be marked with one of the enclitic demonstratives. The third clause is the main clause for the circumstance in clause 2. The whole *pag-* clause — not the ergative pronoun — is marked as definite with the enclitic demonstrative. (Ergative pronouns cannot be marked with the enclitic demonstratives.) Different enclitic demonstratives may be used indicating time distinction. For example, with *i* his looking for Butterflyfish is immediately after his coming out of hiding, with *an* it is less immediate and with *ya* the time lapse is more.

	CLAUSE 1			CLAUSE 2		
(98)	Dayon	kanen	gwa.	*Paggwa*	*din*	*an*,
	dayon	kanen	gwa	pag=gwa	din	an
	then	3,SG,ABS	go.out	GER=go.out	3,SG,GEN	DEF,M

CLAUSE 3				
papangita	din	una	Kalibangbang	ya.
pa=pangita	din	una	kalibangbang	ya
ACT,TH,R=search	3,SG,ERG	first	butterflyfish	DEF,F

'Then he came out. *When he came out*, he first searched for Butterflyfish.' (T9)

The structure of clauses with adverbs is like that of nonverbal clauses with the adverb taking the position of the comment and the verb with actor taking the position of the topic. The topic is constructed of a verb that has no affix, the actor of the verb in genitive case and the enclitic demonstrative following the genitive actor. It does not mark the genitive actor, but the whole nominalized clause. Any of the three enclitic demonstratives may occur indicating difference in time of the event.

	COMMENT	TOPIC		
(99)	Sigi	agal	ko	*an.*
	sigi	agal	ko	an
	CONT	cry	1,SG,GEN	DEF,M

'I continually cried.' (lit: 'My crying was continuous.') (B5)

5.6. Occur as Sentence-final Word with Absolutive or Topic Nouns

Absolutive noun phrases of verbal clauses and topic noun phrases of nonverbal clauses cannot occur sentence finally and, therefore, some word such as an adverb or enclitic demonstrative follows the noun. Absolutive or topic noun phrases with a demonstrative, a modifier, a preposed possessive or genitive construction may occur sentence finally. Examples 100 and 101 illustrate the absolutive pronoun *kanen* 'he/she' in a verbal clause with and without an enclitic demonstrative sentence medially. Example 102 illustrates the same absolutive in sentence-final position with an enclitic demonstrative and example 103 illustrates the ungrammatical construction of the same absolutive pronoun sentence-finally without an enclitic demonstrative. Examples 104–107 illustrate the same things with a nonverbal clause. Examples 104 and 105 illustrate the topic noun phrase *baled* 'wave' in a nonverbal clause with and without an enclitic demonstrative sentence medially. Example 106 illustrates the same topic noun phrase sentence finally with the enclitic demonstrative and example 107 illustrates the ungrammatical construction of the same topic noun sentence finally without an enclitic demonstrative.

Verbal clause

	VERB	ABS			SUBORDINATE CLAUSE
(100)	Gapeddeng-peddeng	*kanen*	*an*	na	gakaan.
	ga=CRD=peddeng	kanen	an	na	ga=kaan
	ACT,TH,R=CONT=close.eyes	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	LK	ACT,AG,R=eat

'*He* was closing (his) eyes while eating.'

	VERB	ABS	SUBORDINATE CLAUSE	
(101)	Gapeddeng-peddeng	*kanen*	na	gakaan.
	ga=CRD=peddeng	kanen	na	ga=kaan
	ACT,TH,R=CONT=close.eyes	3,SG,ABS	LK	ACT,AG,R=eat

'*He* was closing (his) eyes while eating.' (B8)

	VERB	ABS	
(102)	Gapeddeng-peddeng	*kanen*	*an.*
	ga=CRD=peddeng	kanen	an
	ACT,TH,R=CONT=close.eyes	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M

'*He* was closing (his) eyes.'

	VERB	TOPIC
(103)	*Gapeddeng-peddeng	*kanen.*

'*He* was closing (his) eyes.'

Nonverbal clause

	COMMENT		TOPIC		RELATIVE CLAUSE		
(104)	Sikad	darko	*baled*	*an*	na	gataklap	ta
	sikad	darko	baled	an	na	ga=taklap	ta
	very	big.PLM	wave	DEF,M	LK	ACT,TH,R=splash.onto	OBL

blangay	an.
blangay	an
2.mast.sailboat	DEF,M

'*The waves* were big that were splashing onto the two-mast sailboat.'

	COMMENT		TOPIC	RELATIVE CLAUSE		
(105)	Sikad	darko	*baled*	na	gataklap	ta
	sikad	darko	baled	na	ga=taklap	ta
	very	big.PLM	wave	LK	ACT,TH,R=splash.onto	OBL

blangay	an.
blangay	an
2.mast.sailboat	DEF,M

'*The waves* were big that were splashing onto the two-mast sailboat.' (B4)

	COMMENT		TOPIC
(106)	Sikad	darko	*baled* *an.*
	sikad	darko	baled an
	very	big.PLM	wave DEF,M

'*The waves* were big.'

	COMMENT	TOPIC
(107)	*Sikad darko	*baled.*

'The waves were big.'

5.7. Functions Unique to *i*

The enclitic demonstrative *i* may focus attention[7] on a participant in narrative. Focus of attention has the effect of placing a spotlight on one or more participants in a scene, that is placing them on center stage. When a participant becomes the focus of attention, the noun is usually marked with *i* and fronted. This occurs in the introduction to the story, the first event on the storyline and the beginning of paragraphs. The sentence in example 108 is the first event on the story line and the three fish are made the focus of attention.

(108)	Isya	na	adlaw,	tallo	*i*	buok	na	sidda	nai
	isya	na	adlaw	tallo	i	buok	na	sidda	nai
	one	LK	day	three	DEF,N	piece	LK	fish	D1,DEM,ADJ

[7] In the context of this paper "focus of attention" refers to a participant who is spotlighted at that point in the story. It should be distinguished from the term "focus" that is often used to refer to the noun phrase cross-referenced in the verb, i.e. the absolutive noun phrase.

na	pulos	dayad	sura	an	danen	anay	lagen
na	pulos	dayad	sura	an	danen	anay	luag=en
LK	all	good	looks	DEF,M	3,PL,ABS	first	look=ACT,TH,IRR

gasugranen	naan	ta	sawangan	i	ta	Langisan
ga=sugid=anen	naan	ta	sawangan	i	ta	Langisan
ACT,TH,R=tell=NR	SPAT,DEF	OBL	channel	DEF,N	GEN	Langisan

daw	Dondonay.
daw	Dondonay
and	Dondonay

'One day these three fish who at first their appearance looked good, were talking together in the channel between Langisan and Dondonay.' (T9)

With first person accounts the speaker and his companions, if he has some, are the focus of attention and *i* may or may not occur. Example 109 is the very first sentence in the introduction of a first person account. In examples 110 and 111 the focus of attention is also the first person.

(109)

Na	*yaken*	*i*	tise	a	pa,	ta	pag-iskwila
na	yaken	i	tise	a	pa	ta	pag=iskwila
when	1,SG,ABS	DEF,N	small	1,SG,ABS	INC	when	GER=school

ko	ta	ilimintarya	dili	ko	malipatan.
ko	ta	ilimintarya	dili	ko	ma=lipat=an
1,SG,GEN	OBL	elementary	NEG	1,SG,ERG	STAT,TH,IRR=forget=___

'When I was still small, when I was going to elementary school I cannot forget.' (B9)

(110)

Nyaan	a	pungko	kende	ta	liyo	*i.*	Nyaan
nyaan	a	pungko	kende	ta	liyo	i	nyaan
SPAT	1,SG,ABS	sit	1,SG,CTR	OBL	side	DEF,N	SPAT

eman	ta	liyo	kanen	ya.
eman	ta	liyo	kanen	ya
also	OBL	other.side	3,SG,ABS	DEF,F

'I myself sat on one side. He was on the other side.' (B6)

(111)

Pag-alin	nay	unti	Caguisan	*i*	banda	mga
pag=alin	nay	unti	Caguisan	i	banda	mga
GER=from	1,PL,EX,GEN	D1,A,SP	Caguisan	DEF,N	estimate	about

alas	nuibi.
alas	nuibi
o'clock	nine

'Our leaving here Caguisan was about nine o'clock.' (B6)

At the beginning of a new paragraph if the focus of attention is the same as the previous paragraph, then *i* marks the noun referring to that participant and it is not usually fronted, as in example 112.

(112)	Pagkatapos	an,	dayon	insa	Tul-ungan	*i*,	"Indya	a
	pagka=tapos	an	dayon	insa	tul-ungan	i	indya	a
	NR=after	DEF,M	then	ask	parrotfish	DEF,N	where	INJ

Indangan	ya?"
indangan	ya
surgeonfish	DEF,F

'After that, Parrotfish asked, "Where is Surgeonfish?"' (T9)

But if the focus of attention is different at the beginning of a new paragraph, then *i* marks the noun and it is fronted. In example 113 the new focus of attention is Hermit Crab marked with *i* in a fronted noun phrase. Previous to this both Turtle and Hermit Crab were the focus of attention. Now the speaker wants to focus only on one.

(113)	Pagbelagay	en	danen,	may	plano	pla	na
	pag=belag=ay	en	danen	may	plano	pla	na
	GER=separate=RC	CM	3,PL,GEN	EXT,INDEF	plan	SURP	LK

dayad	Umang	i.	*Umang*	*i*,	pasugat
dayad	umang	i	umang	i	pa=sugat
good	hermit.crab	DEF,N	hermit.crab	DEF,N	ACT,TH,R=meet

din	mga	duma	din	ya	na	mga	umang.
din	mga	duma	din	ya	na	mga	umang
3,SG,ERG	PLM	other	3,SG,GEN	DEF,F	LK	PLM	hermit.crab

'When they separated, Hermit Crab had a good plan. *Hermit Crab*, he went to meet his companion hermit crabs.' (T7)

5.8. Functions Unique to *an*

Basically *an* marks specificity, connectedness, and continuation. The following discussion describes some of the special ways that *an* functions. *I* and *ya* may also occur in these same situations but with different functions (see section 5.7 for *i* and section 5.9 for *ya*).

Nominals may be marked with *an* when they were just mentioned in the previous one or two sentences to help disambiguate referents. This function of *an* was confirmed when I was eliciting a set of sentences. The first time I elicited the sentences, I used only *an* for the enclitic demonstrative. In most of the situations where the enclitic was optional (see charts 4 and 5), the language assistant strongly preferred no enclitic. But when I elicited the same sentences with *ya*, she preferred the enclitic to occur. The reason *an* was not preferred was that there were no prior mentions, so it sounded unnatural.

In the first sentence in example 114 Butterflyfish is marked with *ya* because he is far from the focus of attention. In the second sentence the third person pronoun also referring to Butterflyfish is marked with *an* since he was just mentioned in the previous sentence.

	SENTENCE 1							
(114)	*Kalibangbang*	*ya*	dayon	man	a	suklip	naan	ta
	kalibangbang	ya	dayon	man	a	suklip	naan	ta
	butterflyfish	DEF,F	immediately	also	INJ	insert	SPAT,DEF	OBL

SENTENCE 2

pagang	ya.	Adlek	man	*kanen*	*an.*
pagang	ya	adlek	man	kanen	an
coral	DEF,F	afraid	also	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M

'Butterflyfish, too, immediately slipped into the coral. He was also afraid.' (T9)

Definite inherently nonspecific nominals usually take no definite marking. The unmarked way to make them specific is with *an* (see section 5.2).

In narratives most references to a possessed thing in a possessive phrase that has a genitive pronoun are marked with *an*. This is true for things possessed by first person (example 115), second person (116), and third person (example 117). *I* or *ya* may also occur for marked functions.

(115)

Piro	*ginawa*	*ko*	*an*	sikad	gid	na	kalain.
piro	ginawa	ko	an	sikad	gid	na	ka=lain
but	breath	1,SG,GEN	DEF,M	very	INS	LK	NR=bad

'But my breathing was very bad.' (B1)

(116)

"Kani	kusniten	ko	*bibig*	*no*	*an."*
kani	kusnit=en	ko	bibig	no	an
later	pinch=ACT,TH,IRR	1,SG,ERG	lip	2,SG,GEN	DEF,M

'"Later I will pinch your lips."' (B2)

(117)

Gaangep	gid	*nakem*	*din*	*an.*
ga=angep	gid	nakem	din	an
ACT,TH,R=favorable	INS	feelings	3,SG,GEN	DEF,M

'Her feelings became favorable.' (B2)

Reference to something which the addressee has just talked about is marked with *an*.

(118)

Iran	i	na	bata	ula	danen	papanauga
iran	i	na	bata	ula	danen	pa=panaog=a
3,PL,POSS	DEF,N	LK	child	NEG	3,PL,ERG	ACT,TH,R=go.down=___

naan	ta	silong	tak	ambal	ta	amay	ta	bata,
naan	ta	siling	tak	ambal	ta	amay	ta	bata
SPAT,DEF	OBL	yard	because	say	ERG	father	GEN	child

"Gapangako	ki	na	dili	ta
ga=pangako	ki	na	dili	ta
ACT,AG,R=promise	1,PL,IN,ABS	LK	NEG	1,PL,IN,ERG

tekkaren	ta	basak	*ate*	*na*	*bata."*
tekkad=en	ta	basak	ate	na	bata
lay.foot/hand.on=ACT,TH,IRR	OBL	ground	1,PL,IN,POSS	LK	child

Sabat	man	ta	bai	ya,	"Ee,	dili	ta
sabat	man	ta	bai	ya	ee	dili	ta
answer	also	ERG	woman	DEF,F	yes	NEG	1,PL,IN,ERG

tekkaren	ta	basak	*ate*	*an*
tekkad=en	ta	basak	ate	an
lay.foot/hand.on=ACT,TH,IRR	OBL	ground	1,PL,IN,POSS	DEF,M

na	*bata."*
na	bata
LK	child

'They did not let their child go down to the yard because the father of the child said, "We promised that we would not let *our child* lay her foot on the ground." The woman answered, "Yes, we will not let *our child* lay her foot on the ground."' (T5)

An marks a participant in an embedded conversation in a narrative when what he is saying is in direct response to or in agreement with what was just said previously. The *ya* in example 118 seems to contradict this, but *ya* occurs here since the conversation is a flashback to what happened previously in the story (see section 5.9). In example 119 Hermit Crab and Turtle are having a conversation. Sentences 2 and 4 are the reply of Turtle to Hermit Crab's greetings and in the utterance clauses *an* marks Turtle.

(119)

SENTENCE 1							
Pagkita	danen,	ambal	gid	ta	Umang,	"Miad	na
pag=kita	danen	ambal	gid	ta	umang	miad	na
GER=see	3,PL,GEN	say	INS	ERG	hermit.crab	good	LK

SENTENCE 2							
sellem,	Pwikan."	Sabat	man	ya	ta	*Pwikan*	*an,*
sellem	pwikan	sabat	man	ya	ta	pwikan	an,
morning	turtle	answer	also	ATT	ERG	turtle	DEF,M

					SENTENCE 3		
"Miad	man	na	sellem,	Umang."	Ambal	ta	Umang
miad	man	na	sellem	umang	ambal	ta	umang
good	also	LK	morning	hermit.crab	say	ERG	hermit.crab

						SENTENCE 4	
ya,	"Indi	ka	punta	anduni,	Pwikan?"	Sabat	ta
ya	indi	ka	punta	anduni	pwikan	sabat	ta
DEF,F	where	2,SG,ABS	going	now/today	turtle	answer	ERG

Pwikan	*an,*	iling	din,	"Yaken	i	gapanaw
pwikan	an	iling	din	yaken	i	ga=panaw
turtle	DEF,M	say	3,SG,ERG	1,SG,ABS	DEF,N	ACT,TH,R=walk

nang	i.	Pasyar	a	nang	i	unti	baybay	i."
nang	i	pasyar	a	nang	i	unti	baybay	i
only	ATT	stroll	1,SG,ABS	only	ATT	D1,A,SP	beach	DEF,N

'(1) When they met, Hermit Crab said, "Good morning, Turtle." (2) *Turtle* answered, "Good morning, Hermit Crab." (3) Hermit Crab said, "Where are you going, Turtle?" (4) *Turtle* answered, he said, "I am just walking. I am just strolling here on the beach."' (T7)

An occurs on a third person pronoun in an indirect quote that is co-referential with the speaker.

(120)

Umang	i,	pasugat	din	mga	duma
umang	i	pa=sugat	din	mga	duma
hermit.crab	DEF,N	ACT,TH,R=meet	3,SG,ERG	PLM	companion

din	ya	na	mga	umang.	Pagkitaay	danen
din	ya	na	mga	umang	pag=kita=ay	danen
3,SG,Gen	DEF,F	LK	PLM	hermit.crab	GER=see=RC	3,PL,GEN

na	tama	en	na	mga	umang,	pasugiran	en
na	tama	en	na	mga	umang	pa=sugid=an	en
LK	many	CM	LK	PLM	hermit.crab	ACT,LOC,R=tell=___	CM

na	*kanen*	*an*	daw	Pwikan	kisyem	sellem
na	kanen	an	daw	pwikan	kisyem	sellem
LK	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	and	turtle	tomorrow	morning

maglumbaay	dlagan.
mag=lumba=ay	dlagan
ACT,TH,IRR=race=RC	run

'Hermit Crab met his companion hermit crabs. When they, that is the many hermit crabs, met together, (he) told (them) that *he* and Turtle would run a race tomorrow morning.' (T7)

5.9. Functions Unique to *ya*

Basically *ya* marks distance, disconnectedness, contradiction and conclusions.[8] The following discussion describes some special functions of *ya*.

A common noun or pronoun that was mentioned farther back in the story than just the previous one or two sentences may be marked with *ya*. Example 121 is the first mention again of Butterflyfish after a lapse of 14 sentences which had no mention of him and of Surgeonfish after a lapse of 8 sentences.

(121)

Kalibangbang	*ya*	dayon	man	a	suklip	naan	ta
kalibangbang	ya	dayon	man	a	suklip	naan	ta
butterflyfish	DEF,F	immediately	also	INJ	insert	SPAT,DEF	OBL

pagang	ya.	Adlek	man	kanen	an.	*Indangan*	*ya*
pagang	ya	adlek	man	kanen	an	indangan	ya
coral	DEF,F	afraid	also	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	surgeonfish	DEF,F

a	dayon	man	seddep	naan	ta	bato	ya.
a	dayon	man	seddep	naan	ta	bato	ya
INJ	immediately	also	go.under	SPAT,DEF	OBL	rock	DEF,F

'*Butterflyfish*, too, immediately slipped into the coral. He was also afraid. *Surgeonfish*, too, immediately went in among the rocks.' (T9)

[8] The interjection *ya*, used when something shocking happens, may be a Spanish loan word; it is not an enclitic.

Reference to something that is far from the point of reference can be marked with *ya*. In example 122 Butterflyfish and Parrotfish are looking for Surgeonfish who is hiding under a rock. (See also examples 77 and 78 for this function of *ya*.)

(122)	Papangita	danen	en	*Indangan*	*ya*.
	pa=pangita	danen	en	indangan	ya
	ACT,TH,R=search	3,PL,ERG	CM	surgeonfish	DEF,F

'They searched for *Surgeonfish*.' (T9)

Reference to something moving away from the point of reference is also marked with *ya*. In example 123 Mr. Bundac is the point of reference marked with *i*. When he gives the drink to another person the drink moves away from him so it is marked with *ya*.

(123)	Pagpungko	nay	ula	nang	lugay,
	pag=pungko	nay	ula	nang	lugay
	GER=sit	1,PL,EX,GEN	NEG	only	long.time

Mr. Bundac	i	gakamang	ta	coke	daw	true	orange.
Mr. Bundac	i	ga=kamang	ta	coke	daw	true	orange
Mr. Bundac	DEF,N	ACT,AG,R=got	OBL	coke	and	true	orange

Sabuok	*ya*	atag	din`	ki	Sir.
sabuok	ya	atag	din	ki	Sir
one.piece	DEF,F	give	3,SG,ERG	OBL.P	Sir

'When we had sat for a short time, Mr. Bundac got a coke and true orange drink. *One of them* he gave to Sir.' (B6)

Ya can mark reference to something that happened previously or later in the story. In example 118 the father's and mother's promise that they will not let their child lay her foot on the ground happened prior to this point in the story. The reference to the father does not have *ya* since the first one to speak in a conversation usually does not have an enclitic marker. The reference to the woman who is the mother has the *ya*.

In conversations embedded in narratives that involve disagreement or contradictory attitudes of the participants, the participants are marked with *ya* in the utterance clause. In example 124 the three fish are blaming each other for the change in their appearance and *ya* occurs in two of three of the utterance clauses.

	SENTENCE 1							
(124)	Pagkatapos	tan	en,	gabasulay			en	danen
	pagka=tapos	tan	en	ga=basol=ay			en	danen
	NR=after	D2,DEM,GEN	CM	ACT,AG,R=blame=RC			CM	3,PL,ABS

		SENTENCE 2						
i	en.	Ambal	gid	ya	ta	*Tul-ungan*	*ya*,	"O,
i	en	ambal	gid	ya	ta	tul-ungan	ya	o
DEF,N	CM	say	INS	ATT,F	ERG	parrotfish	DEF,F	oh

lagen	nyo	kende	takong	ko	i.
luag=en	nyo	kende	takong	ko	i
look=ACT,TH,IRR	2,PL,ERG	1,SG,CTR	forehead	1,SG,GEN	DEF,N

SENTENCE 3			SENTENCE 4				
Buksel	ni	en."	Ambal	gid	man	en	ta
buksel	ni	en	ambal	gid	man	en	ta
lump	D1,DEM,ABS	CM	say	INS	also	CM	ERG

Kalibangbang,	"Ti!	Lagen	nyo	man	kende	baba
kalibangbang	ta	luag=en	nyo	man	kende	baba
butterflyfish	so	look=ACT,TH,IRR	2,PL,ERG	also	1,SG,CTR	mouth

		SENTENCE 5			SENTENCE 6		
ko	i.	Langkaw	ni	en."	Ti,	ambal	man
ko	i	langkaw	ni	en	ta	ambal	man
1,SG,GEN	DEF,N	long	D1,DEM,ABS	CM	so	say	also

ta	*Indangan*	*ya*,	"Inyo	gid	a	kabuangan	a.
ta	indangan	ya	inyo	gid	a	ka=buang=an	a
ERG	surgeonfish	DEF,F	2,PL,CTR	INS	INJ	NR,INS=crazy=___	INJ

Lagen	nyo	man	kende	lawa	ko	i.
luag=en	nyo	man	kende	lawa	ko	i
look=ACT,TH,IRR	2,PL,ERG	also	1,SG,CTR	body	1,SG,GEN	DEF,N

SENTENCE 7			
Mitem	aren	i	en."
mitem	aren	i	en
black	1,SG,ABS	ATT,N	CM

'(1) After that was already finished, they blamed one other. (2) *Parrotfish* really said, "Oh, you (PL) look at me, my forehead. (3) This has a lump now." (4) Butterflyfish also really said, "So! You (PL) look at me as well, my mouth. (5) This is long now." (6) And now, *Surgeonfish* also said, "You (PL) are really crazy, aren't you (PL). (7) You (PL) look at me as well, my body. (8) I'm black now.'" (T9)

When *ya* marks the speaker in an utterance clause, it may also indicate that what is being said is not connected and/or it is not a direct response to what was just said previously by that speaker or the other participant(s). In example 119 when Hermit Crab greets Turtle, Turtle replies. Each reply of Turtle (sentences 2 and 4) has *an* marking Turtle on the quote formula. The reference to Hermit Crab in sentence 3 is marked with *ya* since he is not replying to what Turtle just said but rather he is starting another exchange. *Ya* indicates disconnectedness.

Ya tends to occur more often in the conclusion to a story after the peak, as in example 125.

(125)	Ta	lugar	na	mabot	kay	man	unti	en
	ta	lugar	na	m=abot	kay	man	unti	en
	so	then	when	ACT,TH,IRR=arrive	1,PL,EX,ABS	also	D1,A,SP	CM

Caguisan	i,	dayon	eman	unti	en	bukaren
Caguisan	i	dayon	eman	unti	en	bukad=en
Caguisan	DEF,N	then	again	D1,A,SP	CM	open=ACT,TH,IRR

daen	mga	*dala*	*ya.*	Nasadyaan	man	en
daen	mga	dala	ya	na=sadya=an	man	en
3,PL,ERG	PLM	things	DEF,F	STAT,LOC,R=happy	also	CM

tak	lumba	man	ta	tatawa	daen	tak	mga
tak	lumba	man	ta	CV=tawa	daen	tak	mga
because	all.at.once	also	GEN	CONT=laugh	3,PL,ABS	because	PLM

kudak	en	gagwa	ya.	Ta	nya	en	tapos
kudak	en	ga=gwa	ya	ta	nya	en	tapos
picture	CM	ACT,TH,R=go.out	ATT,F	so	D4,DEM,ABS	CM	finish

en	*ame*	*ya*	*na*	*mga*	*pagpanaw.*
en	ame	ya	na	mga	pag=panaw
CM	1,PL,EX,POSS	DEF,F	LK	PLM	GER=walk

'So, then when we arrived here at Caguisan, then they opened *the things* (we) *carried*. It was enjoyable because they were laughing together because pictures came out (of the box). So, that is the end of *our excursion*.' (B6)

5.10. Special Cases Where No Demonstrative Occurs

The following discussion gives situations where the enclitic demonstratives may not occur in the cases that it is optional (see charts 4 and 5).

Zero occurs when the tension of the plot is increasing and at the peak. However, the noun phrase if definite must have some definite marking if it is not inherently definite. The sentences in example 126 are from a traditional narrative about an older brother who implies to his younger brother that he has killed a person in order to test him to see how he reacts. At the peak the younger brother learns that what his brother killed was only a wild pig. No enclitic demonstratives occur on the noun phrases even though they did in sentences before peak.

(126)

Gatingala	*mangngod*	*din*	Ø	tak	ambal	
ga=tingala	mangngod	din	Ø	tak	ambal	
ACT,TH,R=wonder	younger.sibling	3,SG,GEN	Ø	because	say	

manong	din	ittaw	nyan	pla	baboy	na
manong	din	ittaw	nyan	pla	baboy	na
older,brother	3,SG,GEN	person	D3,DEM,ABS	SUR	pig	LK

tlunon.	Gatawa	sikad	na	tawa	magulang
tlunon	ga=tawa	sikad	na	tawa	magulang
wild	ACT,TH,R=laugh	very	LK	laugh	older.sibling

din	Ø	tak	baboy.
din	Ø	tak	baboy
3,SG,GEN	Ø	because	pig

'*His younger brother* was amazed because what his older brother said was a person, was a wild pig. *His older brother* really laughed because it was a pig.' (T6)

Zero usually occurs on the actors of clauses with *dayon* 'immediately/then' which also occur in places in the story where the tension is increasing and at the peak.

(127)

Lulugay,	naubos	en	ta	amo	mga
CV=lugay	na=ubos	en	ta	amo	mga
DIM=long.time	ACT,TH,R,APT=use.up	CM	ERG	monkey	PLM

saging	ya.	Dayon	*kanen*	Ø	panaog	daw
saging	ya	dayon	kanen	Ø	panaog	daw
banana	DEF,F	immediately	3,SG,ABS	Ø	go.down	and

natellek	*kanen*	Ø	ta	mga	tellek	na
na=tellek	kanen	Ø	ta	mga	tellek	na
CIRC,TH,R=stuck	3,SG,ABS	Ø	OBL	PLM	thorn	LK

galibot	ta	saging.
ga=libot	ta	saging
ACT,TH,R=surround	OBL	banana plant

'After a short time, the monkey ate up all the bananas. *He* immediately came down and *he* was stuck by the thorns that were surrounding the banana plant.' (T4)

Usually in utterance clauses the actors are marked with an enclitic. However, zero normally occurs in the first quote formula of a conversation.

SENTENCE 1

(128)

Pagkita	danen,	ambal	gid	*ta*	*Umang*	Ø,	"Miad	na
pag=kita	danen	ambal	gid	ta	umang	Ø	miad	na
GER=see	3,PL,GEN	say	INS	ERG	hermit.crab	Ø	good	LK

SENTENCE 2

sellem,	Pwikan."	Sabat	man	ya	ta	Pwikan	an,	"Miad
sellem	pwikan	sabat	man	ya	ta	pwikan	an,	miad
morning	turtle	answer	also	ATT	ERG	turtle	DEF,M	good

man	na	sellem,	Umang."
man	na	sellem	umang
also	LK	morning	hermit.crab

'(1) When they met, *Hermit Crab* said, "Good morning, Turtle." (2) Turtle answered, "Good morning, Hermit Crab."' (T7)

Zero occurs on the nominals that refer to a participant who is the only one in that section of the story.

(129)

Badong	an	gasakay	ta	kabaw	na	muli
Badong	an	ga=sakay	ta	kabaw	na	m=uli
Badong	DEF,M	ACT,TH,R=ride	OBL	carabao	LK	ACT,TH,IRR=go.home

unti	again	Mampay.	Tapos	may	nakita
unti	agi=an	Mampay	tapos	may	na=kita
D1,A,SP	pass.by=ACT,LOC,IRR	Mampay	then	EXT,INDEF	STAT,TH,R=see

kanen	Ø	na	ittaw.	Gatingala		*kanen*	Ø	tak
kanen	Ø	na	ittaw	ga=tingala		kanen	Ø	tak
3,SG,ABS	Ø	LK	person	ACT,LOC,R=wonder		3,SG,ABS	Ø	because

kabaw	an	gateneng.
kabaw	an	ga=teneng
carabao	DEF,M	ACT,TH,R=stop

'Badong was riding a carabao coming home here passing by Mampay. Then *he* saw a person. *He* was wondering because the carabao stopped.' (B7)

Zero usually occurs on the first mention of proper nouns in narratives.

(130)

Paumaw	man	*Pastor*	*Cruz*	Ø	ta	yo	
pa=umaw	man	Pastor	Cruz	Ø	ta	yo	
ACT,TH,R=call	also	Pastor	Cruz	Ø	OBL	D4,DEM,ADJ,G	

na	kilem.
na	kilem
LK	night

'(They) also called *Pastor Cruz* that night.' (B5)

Zero occurs on proper nouns in appositional phrases.

(131)

Tallo	kay,	kami	i	*Sir*	Ø	daw
tallo	kay	kami	i	Sir	Ø	daw
three	1,Pl,EX,ABS	1,PL,ABS,EMPH	DEF,N	Sir	Ø	and

Mr.	*Bundac*	Ø.
Mr.	Bundac	Ø
Mr.	Bundac	Ø

'As for us, there were three of us: myself, *Sir* and *Mr. Bundac*.' (B6)

In narratives the unmarked ergative and genitive cases have no enclitic demonstrative even with nominals not inherently definite. The reason for this is that nominals in these cases must be definite unless marked for indefiniteness with *isya* 'one/a certain'. In order for a nominal that is not inherently definite to occur in these cases with no enclitic, it must be mentioned previously in the text.

(132)

Tapos,	dayon	uli	mama	i	daw	tanemen
tapos	dayon	uli	mama	i	daw	tanem=en
then	immediately	go.home	man	DEF,N	and	plant=ACT,TH,IRR

yon	na	bulak	naan	ta	may	tumbuan
yon	na	bulak	naan	ta	may	tumbuan
D3,DEM,ADJ,G	LK	flower	SPAT,DEF	OBL	EXT,INDEF	window

din.	Adlaw-adlaw,	pabunyagan	*ta*	*mama*	Ø
din	CRD=adlaw	pa=bunyag=an	ta	mama	Ø
3,SG,GEN	RP=day	ACT,LOC,R=water=___	ERG	man	Ø

bulak	ya	na	patanem	din.
bulak	ya	na	pa=tanem	din
flower	DEF,F	LK	ACT,TH,R=plant	3,SG,ERG

'Then, the man immediately went home and planted the flower at the place near his window. Every day *the man* watered the flower that he planted.' (T5)

Zero usually occurs on the second noun of a genitive phrase that has two nouns connected with *ta* 'GEN'. This possessive phrase indicates possessive and part-whole relationships. The second noun is the possessor or the whole. In example 133 the genitive noun phrase *ta kalibangbang* 'of Butterflyfish' has no enclitic demonstrative or other definite marking, but it was previously mentioned in the this story.

(133)	Ti,	galangkaw	en	baba	an	*ta*	*Kalibangbang*	Ø.
	ta	ga=langkaw	en	baba	an	ta	Kalibangbang	Ø
	so	ACT,TH,R=long	CM	mouth	DEF,M	POSS	butterflyfish	Ø

'So, the mouth *of Butterflyfish* became long.' (T9)

6. Conclusion

The enclitic demonstratives *i, an* and *ya* function to make nominals definite and specific. They also signal spatial and temporal distinctions. They occur on nominalized clauses and they can complete an intransitive clause by occurring at the end. Besides these functions, *i* signals focus of attention and marks things close to it. *An* indicates a medium distance from the point of reference and makes things specific. It also signals connectedness and agreement with things said by the same speaker or by another speaker. *Ya* indicates a far distance from the point of reference or going away from it. It also signals disconnectedness, contradiction and conclusions.

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Two Kagayanen Texts

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Biographical Narrative

1. Inagian Ko.[1]
in=agi=an ko
NR.LOC=pass=___ 1,SG,GEN

1. My Experience

2. Ake i na inagian
ake i na in=agi=an
1,SG,POSS DEF,N LK NR.LOC=pass=___

natabo isya nang en adlaw bag-o
na=tabo isya nang en adlaw bag-o
CIRC,TH,R=happen one only CM day before

2. My experience happened only one day before our wedding.

ame na kasal. 3. Sikad tama na ittaw
ame na kasal sikad tama na ittaw
1,PL,EX,POSS LK wedding very many LK people

naan ta ame na balay tak
naan ta ame na balay tak
SPAT,DEF OBL 1,PL,EX,POSS LK house because

3. The people in our house were very many because there was much work.

tama na ubra. 4. Duma an
tama na ubra duma an
much LK work other DEF,M

gaimes ta anda ta adlaw ta
ga=imes ta anda ta adlaw ta
ACT,AG,R=prepare OBL special.food OBL day GEN

4. Some were preparing special food for the day of our wedding.

ame na kasal. 5. Alos tanan na
ame na kasal alos tanan na
1,PL,EX,POSS LK wedding almost all LK

kasilingan giling ta ame na balay
kasilingan ga=iling ta ame na balay
neighbor ACT,TH,R=go OBL 1,PL,EX,POSS LK house

5. Almost all the neighbors came to our house to help prepare.

[1] This story was written by Mrs. Veth T. Atilano during a Writers' Workshop on the island of Cagayancillo in December 1988. Mrs. Atilano is a native of Cagayancillo.

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para	magtabang		ta	imes.	6.	Ake	na	6. My parents and siblings were at the church decorating in preparation for our wedding.
para	mag=tabang		ta	imes		ake	na	
PURP	ACT,AG,IRR=help		OBL	prepare		1,SG,POSS	LK	
mga	ginikanan	daw	mga	utod		naan	ta	
mga	ginikanan	daw	mga	utod		naan	ta	
PLM	parent	and	PLM	sibling		SPAT,DEF	OBL	
simbaan	na	gabisti		na	priparasyon			
simba=an	na	ga=bisti		na	priparasyon			
worship=place	LK	ACT,AG,R=decorate		LK	preparation			
man	ta	ame	na	kasal.	7.	Piro		7. As for us, we were making papaya salad outside of our house.
man	ta	ame	na	kasal		piro		
also	OBL	1,PL,EX.POSS	LK	wedding		but		
gaubra		kay		ame		ta	salad	
ga=ubra		kay		ame		ta	salad	
ACT,AG,R=make		1,PL,EXC.ABS		1,PL.EX.CTR		OBL	salad	
na	tampayas	naan	ta	gwa	ta			
na	tampayas	naan	ta	gwa	ta			
LK	papaya	SPAT,DEF	OBL	outside	GEN			
ame	na	balay.	8.	Pambal		a		8. The older people told me that I should not go out because it is dangerous for those who will be wedded to keep going (somewhere).
ame	na	balay		pa=ambal		a		
1,PL,EX,POSS	LK	house		ACT,LOC,R=say		1,SG,ABS		
ta	mga	manakem	na	dili	a	kon		
ta	mga	manakem	na	dili	a	kon		
ERG	PLM	elder	LK	no	1,SG,ABS	RS		
magguwa		tak	dilikado	kon	ta			
mag=guwa		tak	dilikado	kon	ta			
ACT,TH,IRR=go.out		because	dangerous	RS	OBL			
kasalen	na	sigi	panaw.	9.	Tak			9. Because I did not believe that which was said I really went out.
kasalen	na	sigi	panaw		tak			
wedding=ACT,TH,IRR	LK	continue	go		because			
ula	a	gapati		ta				
ula	a	ga=pati		ta				
NEG	1,SG,ABS	ACT,AG,R=believe/obey		OBL				
yon	na	mga	ambal,	gaguwa				
yon	na	mga	ambal	ga=guwa				
D3,DEM,ADJ,G	LK	PLM	say	ACT,TH,R=go.out				
a	gid.							
a	gid							
1,SG,ABS	INS							

10.	Pag-abot	ko	ta	ugsaran	danen	
	pag=abot	ko	ta	ugsaran	danen	
	GER=arrive	1,SG,GEN	OBL	doorstep	3,PL,GEN	
Nay	Gamay,[2]	may	nakita		a	
nay	Gamay	may	na=kita		a	
Mother	Gamay	EXT,INDEF	STAT,TH,R=see		1,SG,ABS	
na	tapi	na	may	lansang.		
na	tapi	na	may	lansang		
LK	board	LK	EXT,INDEF	nail		

10. When I arrived at the doorstep of Mother Gamay and her companions, I saw a board with a nail.

11.	Pambalan	ko	ake	na	mga	
	pa=ambal=an	ko	ake	na	mga	
	ACT,LOC,R=say=___	1,SG,ERG	1,SG,POSS	LK	PLM	
duma	na	mag-ayad	tak	basi		
duma	na	mag=ayad	tak	basi		
companion	LK	ACT,TH,IRR=careful	because	maybe		
matellek	danen	an.				
ma=tellek	danen	an				
CIRC,TH,IRR=puncture	3,PL,ABS	DEF,M				

11. I told my companions to be careful because they might be punctured.

12.	Nalipat	aren	en	tak	
	na=lipat	aren	en	tak	
	STAT,LOC,R=forget	1,SG,ABS	CM	because	
nawili	a	ta	isturya	ta	
na=wili	a	ta	isturya	ta	
STAT,TH,R=caught.up	1,SG,ABS	OBL	talk	OBL	
mga	dlaga	na	gatabang	ki	kami.
mga	dlaga	na	ga=tabang	ki	kami
PLM	single.girl	LK	ACT,AG,R=help	OBL	1,PL,EX,OBL

12. I forgot because I was caught up in talking to the single girls who were helping us.

13.	Pagtikang	ko	na	muli		
	pag=tikang	ko	na	m=uli		
	GER=take.a.step	1,SG,GEN	LK	ACT,TH,IRR=go.home		
aren	en	ta	ame	na	balay,	
aren	en	ta	ame	na	balay	
1,SG,ABS	CM	OBL	1,PL,EX,POSS	LK	house	
nataran	ko	lansang	ya.			
na=utad=an	ko	lansang	ya			
ACT,LOC,R,APT=step.on=___	1,SG,ERG	nail	DEF,F			

13. When I took a step to go home to our house, I stepped on the nail.

14.	Ta	madali	na	isturiya,	natellek
	ta	ma=dali	na	isturiya	na=tellek
	OBL	ADJR=hurry	LK	story	CIRC,TH,R=puncture

14. To hurry the story, I was punctured by the nail.

[2] All the proper names of people in these stories have been changed.

a	ta	lansang.	15.	Naan	a	gid	
a	ta	lansang		Naan	a	gid	
1,SG,ABS	OBL	nail		SPAT	1,SG,ABS	INS	

natellek	ta	tengnga	ta	ake	na
na=tellek	ta	tengnga	ta	ake	na
CIRC,TH,R=puncture	OBL	middle	GEN	1,SG,POSS	LK

batiis.	16. Tudo	singgit	ta	mga	kinayen	
batiis	tudo	singgit	ta	mga	kinayen	
foot	totally	shout	GEN	PLM	aunt	

ko	na	tabang	tak	nakita
ko	na	tabang	tak	na=kita
1,SG,GEN	LK	help	because	STAT,TH,R=see

a	danen	na	gamungko	na
a	danen	na	ga=mungko	na
1,SG,ABS	3,PL,ERG	LK	ACT,TH,R=sit	LK

pabitan	ko	ake	na	batiis
pa=ibit=an	ko	ake	na	batiis
ACT,LOC,R=hold=___	1,SG,ERG	1,SG,POSS	LK	foot

na	galengessa.	17.	Inta	sigi	agal	ko	
na	ga=lengessa		inta	sigi	agal	ko	
LK	ACT,TH,R=blood		OPT	continue	cry	1,SG,GEN	

an.	18. Piro	ula	a	gagal		na
an	piro	ula	a	ga=agal		na
DEF,M	but	NEG	1,SG,ABS	ACT,TH,R=cry		LK

basi	daw	dili	madayon	ame
basi	daw	dili	ma=dayon	ame
maybe	if	NEG	ACT,TH,IRR,APT=continue	1,SG,POSS

na	kasal.	19.	Paumaw	ta	ake	
na	kasal		pa=umaw	ta	ake	
LK	wedding		ACT,TH,R=call	ERG	1,SG,POSS	

na	mangngod	ake	na	mga	ginikanan
na	mangngod	ake	na	mga	ginikanan
LK	younger.sibling	1,SG,POSS	LK	PLM	parent

naan	ta	simbaan.
naan	ta	simba=an
SPAT,DEF	OBL	worship=place

20.	Pag-abot	ta	mga	ginikanan	ko
	pag=abot	ta	mga	ginikanan	ko
	GER=arrive	GEN	PLM	parent	1,SG,GEN

15. I was really punctured in the middle of my foot.

16. My aunts shouted loudly for help because they saw me sitting holding my foot that was bleeding.

17. I should have been crying.

18. But I did not cry because perhaps our wedding would not continue.

19. My younger sibling called for my parents at the church.

20. When my parents arrived at our house, they were frightened because I might get tetanus.

naan ta ame na balay,
naan ta ame na balay
SPAT,DEF OBL 1,PL,EX,POSS LK house

nakulbaan man danen an
na=kulba=an man danen an
STAT,LOC,R=frighten=___ also 3,PL,ABS DEF,M

tak basi daw matitanos kon.
tak basi daw ma=titanos kon
because maybe if CIRC,TH,IRR=tetanus RS

21. Paindiksyunan a Mrs. Sison,
pa=indiksyon=an a Mrs Sison
ACT,LOC,R=injection=___ 1,SG,ABS Mrs Sison

isya man na midwife na nadistino
isya man na midwife na na=distino
one also LK midwife LK ACT,TH,R,PAST=assign

kan-o ta Cagayancillo.
kan-o ta Cagayancillo
before OBL Cagayancillo

21. Mrs. Sison, a midwife who was assigned previously to Cagayancillo, gave me an injection.

22. Tama na mga ittaw
tama na mga ittaw
many LK PLM person

na gambal na dili gid kon
na ga=ambal na dili gid kon
LK ACT,AG,R=say LK NEG INS RS

madayon ame na kasal
ma=dayon ame na kasal
ACT,TH,IRR,APT=continue 1,PL,EX,POSS LK wedding

tak basi dili a kon
tak basi dili a kon
because maybe NEG 1,SG,ABS RS

22. There were many people who said that our wedding would not continue because I would not be able to walk.

kapanaw.
ka=panaw
ACT,TH,IRR,APT=walk

23. Nlaman gid
na=alam=an gid
STAT,TH,R=know=___ INS

danen na mag-ubbag batiis ko
danen na mag=ubbag batiis ko
3,PL,LOC LK ACT,TH,IRR=swell foot 1,SG,GEN

i.
i
DEF,N

23. They knew that my foot would swell.

24. Mag-kilem an paumaw ta
mag=kilem an pa=umaw ta
ACT,TH,IRR=night DEF,M ACT,TH,R=call ERG

24. When night came, my parents called for the parents of my spouse to come to our house.

ake	na	mga	ginikanan	a	ginikanan
ake	na	mga	ginikanan	a	ginikanan
1,SG,POSS	LK	PLM	parent	INJ	parent

ta	ake	na	sawa	na	mag-iling
ta	ake	na	sawa	na	mag=iling
GEN	1,SG,POSS	LK	spouse	LK	ACT,TH,IRR=go

ta	ame	na	balay.	25. Danen	
ta	ame	na	balay	danen	
OBL	1,PL,EX,POSS	LK	house	3,PL,ABS	

25. They conferred if they would go ahead with our wedding.

gasapol	daw	dayunon	ame
ga=sapol	daw	dayon=en	ame
ACT,TH,R=confer	if	continue=ACT,TH,IRR	1,PL,EX,POSS

na	kasal.	26. Pa-naw	man	Pastor	Cruz	
na	kasal	pa=umaw	man	Pastor	Cruz	
LK	wedding	ACT,TH,R=call	also	Pastor	Cruz	

26. They also called Pastor Cruz that night.

ta	yo	na	kilem.	27. Gapinsar	
ta	yo	na	kilem	ga=pinsar	
OBL	D4,DEM,ADJ,G	LK	night	ACT,TH,R=opinion	

27. My parents really thought that perhaps I would not be able to walk.

gid	ake	na	mga	ginikanan	na	basi
gid	ake	na	mga	ginikanan	na	basi
INS	1,SG,POSS	LK	PLM	parent	LK	maybe

daw	dili	a	kon	kapanaw.
daw	dili	a	kon	ka=panaw
if	NEG	1,SG,ABS	RS	ACT,TH,IRR,APT=walk

28. Paansaan	Papa	ko	ake	na	
pa=ansa=an	papa	ko	ak-	na	
ACT,LOC,R=ask=___	dad	1,SG,GEN	1,SG,POSS	LK	

28. My dad asked my in-laws if they would go ahead with our wedding.

ugangan	daw	dayunon	kasal
ugangan	daw	dayon=en	kasal
parent.in.law	if	continue=ACT,TH,IRR	wedding

nay	ya	kisyem.	29. Sabat	danen	
nay	ya	kisyem	sabat	danen	
1,PL,EX,GEN	DEF,F	tommorrow	answer	3,PL,ERG	

29. They answered that they should go ahead with it because it would be bad to postpone it because the day for our wedding has been designated.

dayunon	kon	tak	lain	daw
dayon=en	kon	tak	lain	daw
continue=ACT,TH,IRR	RS	because	bad	if

puspunon	tak	natalana
puspon=en	tak	na=talana
postpone=ACT,TH,IRR	because	ACT,TH,R,PAST=set.aside

kon	en	adlaw	ta	ame
kon	en	adlaw	ta	ame
RS	CM	day	OBL	1,PL,EX,POSS

na	kasal.	30. Ambal	Pastor	Cruz	30. Pastor Cruz said that they should go ahead with it because the invitations have been distributed to the ones invited.
na	kasal	ambal	Pastor	Cruz	
LK	wedding	say	Pastor	Cruz	

dayunon	kon	tak
dayon=en	kon	tak
continue=ACT,TH,IRR	RS	because

natagtag	en	imbitasyon	ya	ta
na=tagtag	en	imbitasyon	ya	ta
ACT,TH,R,PAST=distribute	CM	invitation	DEF,F	OBL

mga	ittaw	na	papalam.
mga	ittaw	na	pa=pa=alam
PLM	person	LK	ACT,TH,R=CAUS=know

31.	Patumar	a	midwife	ta	31. The midwife gave me antibiotics to take and she gave me an injection of anti-tetanus.
	pa=tumar	a	midwife	ta	
	CAUS=take.medicine	1,SG,ABS	midwife	OBL	

antibiotic	daw	indyiksyunan	a
antibiotic	daw	indyiksyon=an	a
antibiotic	and	injection=ACT,LOC,IRR	1,SG,ABS

din	ta	antititanos.	32. Pangamuyuan		32. My siblings and Pastor Cruz prayed for me.
din	ta	antititanos	pangamuyo=an		
3,SG,ERG	OBL	anti-tetanus	pray=ACT,LOC,R		

a	man	ta	mga	utod	ko	daw
a	man	ta	mga	utod	ko	daw
1,SG,ABS	also	ERG	PLM	sibling	1,SG,GEN	and

Pastor	Cruz.
Pastor	Cruz
Pastor	Cruz

33.	Ta	adlaw	en	ta	ame	na	33. On the day of our wedding my foot swelled.
	ta	adlaw	en	ta	ame	na	
	OBL	day	CM	GEN	1,PL,EX,POSS	LK	

kasal	gaubbag	batiis	ko	i.
kasal	ga=ubbag	batiis	ko	i
wedding	ACT,TH,R=swell	foot	1,SG,GEN	DEF,N

34.	Pagsuksok	ko	ta	ake	na	34. When I put my shoe on, my tears fell because it was like I was not able to take a step because my foot hurt very much.
	pag=suksuk	ko	ta	ake	na	
	GER=put.on	1,SG,GEN	OBL	1,SG,POSS	LK	

sapin,	gatulo		ake	na	luwa
sapin	ga=tulo		ake	na	luwa
shoe	ACT,TH,R=drop		1,SG,POSS	LK	tear

tak	pario	a	dili	katikang
tak	pario	a	dili	ka=tikang
because	like	1,SG,ABS	NEG	ACT,TH,R,APT=step

tak	sikad	sakit	batiis	ko	i.
tak	sikad	sakit	batiis	ko	i
because	very	pain	foot	1,SG,GEN	DEF,N

35. Gapanaw a munta ta
ga=panaw a munta ta
ACT,TH,R=walk 1,SG,ABS going OBL

simbaan	na	gapiang	a.
simba=an	na	ga=piang	a
worship=place	LK	ACT,TH,R=limp	1,SG,ABS

35. I left to go to the church, limping.

36. Ta adlaw ta ake na kasal
ta adlaw ta ake na kasal
OBL day GEN 1,SG,POSS LK wedding

nalipay	a	gid	tak	bisan
na=lipay	a	gid	tak	bisan
STAT,LOC,R=joy	1,SG,ABS	INS	because	even.though

sikad	sakit	ake	na	batiis
sikad	sakit	ake	na	batiis
very	pain	1,SG,POSS	LK	foot

nadayon	gid	man	ame	na
na=dayon	gid	man	ame	na
ACT,TH,R,APT=continue	INS	also	1,PL,EX,POSS	LK

36. On the day of my wedding I was really happy because even though my foot hurt very much our wedding went ahead on that day.

kasal	ta	yo	na	adlaw.	37.	Tama
kasal	ta	yo	na	adlaw		tama
wedding	OBL	D4,DEM,ABS,G	LK	day		many

na	ittaw	nalam	gid	ta	ake
na	ittaw	na=alam	gid	ta	ake
LK	person	STAT,LOC,R=know	INS	OBL	1,SG,POSS

na	inagian	tak	nakita
na	in=agi=an	tak	na=kita
LK	NR,LOC=pass=___	because	STAT,TH,R=see

mismo	ta	iran	na	mga	mata
mismo	ta	iran	na	mga	mata
themselves	OBL	3,PL,POSS	LK	PLM	eye

37. Many people truly knew about my experience because they themselves saw with their eyes my situation on the day of our wedding.

ake	na	kaimtangan	ta	adlaw	ta
ake	na	kaimtangan	ta	adlaw	ta
1,SG,POSS	LK	situation	OBL	day	GEN

ame	na	kasal.	38.	Nlaman
ame	na	kasal		na=alam=an
1,PL,EX,POSS	LK	wedding		STAT,TH,R=know=___

ko	nai	pagtilaw	ta	maal
ko	nai	pag=tilaw	ta	maal
1,SG,ERG	D1,DEM,ADJ	GER=test	GEN	love

ta	na	Dios	ki	yaken.	39.	Dili
ta	na	Dios	ki	yaken		dili
1,PL,IN,POSS	LK	God	OBL	1,SG,OBL		NEG

ko	gid	malipatan	yi
ko	gid	ma=lipat=an	yi
1,SG,ERG	INS	STAT,TH,IRR=forget=___	D1,DEM,ADJ,G

na	inagian	tak	asta	anduni
na	in=agi=an	tak	asta	anduni
LK	NR,LOC=pass=___	because	until	now/today

anen	paulat	ta	ake	na	nina
anen	pa=ulat	ta	ake	na	nina
EXT,DEF	ACT,TH,R=scar	GEN	1,SG,POSS	LK	wound

ta	ake	na	batiis.
ta	ake	na	batiis
OBL	1,SG,POSS	LK	foot

40.	Yi	ake	na
	Yi	ake	na
	D1,DEM,FRNT,ABS,G	1,SG,POSS	LK

inagian	ta	adlaw	ta	ame
in=agi=an	ta	adlaw	ta	ame
NR,LOC=pass=___	OBL	day	GEN	1,PL,EX,POSS

na	kasal.
na	kasal
LK	wedding

41. Mrs Veth T. Atilano, Barangay Wahig, Cagayancillo, Palawan.[3]

38. I know that this is our beloved God testing me.

39. I will truly not forget this experience because until now there is the scar of the wound on my foot.

40. This was my experience on the day of our wedding.

[3] Note added in the author's hand on July 24, 1998, after checking the manuscript: "To: Carol Pebley, Pwidi no gamiten ake na isturya ta Linguistic journal. Salamat gid, Veth T. Atilano. (To Carol Pebley, You can use my story in a Linguistic journal. Thank you very much, Veth T. Atilano.)"

Traditional Narrative

1. Isturya[4]	ta	sidda	na	Tul-ungan,[5]	1. The Story of Parrotfish, Surgeonfish, and Butterflyfish.
isturya	ta	sidda	na	tul-ungan	
story	GEN	fish	LK	parrotfish	
Indangan[6]	daw	Kalibangbang.[7]			
indangan	daw	kalibangbang			
surgeonfish	and	butterflyfish			
2. Anduni,	may	isya	ki	man	2. Now, we have one more story.
anduni	may	isya	ki	man	
now/today	EXT,INDEF	one	1,PL,IN,ABS	also	
na isturya.	3. Isturya	nai	sikad	dayad.	3. This story is very good/beautiful.
na isturya	isturya	nai	sikad	dayad	
LK story	story	D1,DEM,ADJ	very	good	
4. Isturya	nai	tenged	a	ta	mga
isturya	nai	tenged	a	ta	mga
story	D1,DEM,ADJ	about	INJ	OBL	PLM
sidda.	5. Naan	ta	dagat	tama	mga sidda.
sidda	naan	ta	dagat	tama	mga sidda
fish	SPAT,DEF	OBL	sea	tama	PLM fish
6. Piro,	anduni	a	isturya	ko	i
piro	anduni	a	isturya	ko	i
but	now/today	INJ	story	1,SG,GEN	DEF,N

4. This story is about some fish.

5. In the ocean there are many fish.

6. But, now my story is about only three fish.

[4] This story was told by the late Mr. Javier C. Carceler to two pre-school aged Kagayanen children on May 27, 1989. Mr. Carceler was a retired principal-teacher, married, age 61. He was a native of the Cagayan Islands, the home islands for the Kagayanen language. These islands make up the municipality of Cagayancillo in the province of Palawan, Philippines. This story has been endorsed for publication as follows: "I give my permission for the story titled 'Isturya Ta Sidda Na Tul-ungan, Indangan Daw Kalibangbang' which was written by my late husband, Mr. Javier C. Carceler, to be printed as part of a linguistic paper written by Miss Carol Pebley, a member of the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I understand that this will be published in a not-for-profit academic journal which will benefit the wider academic community in the Philippines. It is my hope that this story will also serve the Kagayanen community at large as it shows to others the structure and beauty of the Kagayanen language. Signed: Patricia A. Carceler. Witnessed by: Rebecca C. Escubin. Date: September 28, 1998."
The recording and the English translation were done by Louise Nicholas MacGregor. Mrs. MacGregor has been involved in the study of the Kagayanen language since 1976, working under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

[5] The parrotfish (*tul-ungan*) in this story is from the family *scaridae* and possibly from the genus *bolbometapon*.

[6] The surgeonfish (*indangan*) in this story is one from the family *acanthuridae* whose whole body is black.

[7] The butterflyfish (*kalibangbang*) in this story is from the family *chaetodontidae*.

tenged	nang	ta	tallo	buok	na	sidda.
tenged	nang	ta	tallo	buok	na	sidda
about	only	OBL	three	piece	LK	fish

7. Inday	daw	kita	nyo		en	sura
inday	daw	kita	nyo		en	sura
not.know	if	see	2,PL,ERG		CM	appearance

ta	sidda	i	na	tallo	buok	nai.
ta	sidda	i	na	tallo	buok	nai
GEN	fish	DEF,N	LK	three	piece	D1,DEM,ADJ

8. Ngaranan		ko	a.	9. Tul-ungan.	
ngaran=an		ko	a	tul-ungan	
name=ACT,LOC,IRR		1,SG,ERG	INJ	parrotfish	

10. Sikad	baked	na	sidda	tul-ungan	an.	
sikad	baked	na	sidda	tul-ungan	an	
very	large	LK	fish	parrotfish	DEF,M	

11. Dason,	Indangan.		12. Dayad	man	na	
dason	indangan		dayad	man	na	
next	surgeonfish		beautiful	also	LK	

sidda	indangan	an.	13. Puti	na	sidda	
sidda	indangan	an	puti	na	sidda	
fish	surgeonfish	DEF,M	white	LK	fish	

anay	pa	sa.	14. Dason,	Kalibangbang.	
anay	pa	sa	dason,	kalibangbang	
first	INC	D4,DEM,OBL	next	butterflyfish	

15. Dayad	man	sura	ta	kalibangbang	una	
dayad	man	sura	ta	kalibangbang	una	
good	also	looks	GEN	butterflyfish	first	

sa.	16. Piro,	risulta	ta	isturya	
sa	piro	risulta	ta	isturya	
D4,DEM,OBL	but	result	GEN	story	

ta	i,	anduni	galain
ta	i	anduni	ga=lain
1,PL,IN,GEN	DEF,N	now/today	ACT,TH,R=different

sura	a	danen.	17. Yi		
sura	a	danen	yi		
looks	INJ	3,PL,GEN	D1,DEM,FRNT,ABS,G		

umpisaan	ta	isturya	nai.
umpisa=an	ta	isturya	nai
begin=NR	GEN	story	D1,DEM,ADJ

7. I don't know if you (pl) already have seen the appearance of these three fish.

8. I will name them.
9. Parrotfish.

10. The parrotfish is a very large fish.

11. Next, Surgeonfish.
12. The surgeonfish is also a beautiful fish.

13. It was a white fish in a time before.

14. Next, Butterflyfish.

15. The appearance of the butterflyfish was also beautiful before.

16. But, the result from our story is that today their appearance has become different.

17. This is the beginning of this story.

18.	Isya	na	adlaw,	tallo	i	buok	na
	isya	na	adlaw	tallo	i	buok	na
	one	LK	day	three	DEF,N	piece	LK

sidda	nai	na	pulos	dayad	sura	an
sidda	nai	na	pulos	dayad	sura	an
fish	D1,DEM,ADJ	LK	all	good	looks	DEF,M

danen	anay	lagen,	gasugranen
danen	anay	luag=en	ga=sugid=anen
3,PL,GEN	first	look=ACT,TH,IRR	ACT,TH,R=tell=NR

naan	ta	sawangan	i	ta	Langisan
naan	ta	sawangan	i	ta	Langisan
SPAT,DEF	OBL	channel	DEF,N	GEN	Langisan

daw	Dondonay.[8]	19.	Natabo	na
daw	Dondonay		na=tabo	na
and	Dondonay		CIRC,TH,R=happen	LK

may	isya	na	blangay[9]	na
may	isya	na	blangay	na
EXT,INDEF	one	LK	2.mast.sailboat	LK

gabot	nyaan	galin	Negros[10]
ga=abot	nyaan	ga=alin	Negros
ACT,TH,R=arrive	SPAT	ACT,TH,R=from	Negros

nanganian.[11]		20.	Sikad	dalas	dlagan
mang=ani=an			sikad	dalas	dlagan
DIST,AG,R=harvest=place			very	fast	run

ta	blangay	an	tak	pelles
ta	blangay	an	tak	pelles
GEN	2.mast.sailboat	DEF,M	because	strong

angin	an.	21.	Kalibangbang	i	una
angin	an		kalibangbang	i	una
air/wind	DEF,M		butterflyfish	DEF,N	first

nakasapo.		22.	Iling	din,	"Tul-ungan!
naka=sapo			iling	din	tul-ungan
ACT,AG,R,APT=discover			say	3,SG,ERG	parrotfish

18. One day these three fish who at first their appearance looked good, were talking together in the channel between Langisan and Dondonay.

19. It so happened that there was a two-masted sailing ship arriving that had come from Negros where they had been harvesting.

20. The running of the two-masted sailing ship was very fast because the wind was strong.

21. Butterflyfish was the first to happen to notice it.

22. He said, "Parrotfish!

[8] Langisan and Dondonay are islands just east of the main island within the Cagayan Islands group.

[9] The two-masted sailing ship (*blangay*) in this story is constructed of wood and without nails. It is unique to the Kagayanen. A generation ago dozens of them existed. All but one, which is presently under total reconstruction, have been left to decay as they became unserviceable.

[10] Negros is a large island about 120 kilometers east of the Cagayan Islands.

[11] Rice cannot be grown in the Cagayan Islands so some Kagayanen have rice fields on other islands.

23.	Indangan!	24.	Anen	blangay!				23. Surgeonfish! 24. There is a two-masted sailing ship here! 25. You (pl) be alert! 26. A while later we (incl) might be bumped!"
	Indangan		anen	blangay				
	Surgeonfish		EXT,DEF	2.mast.sailboat				
25.	Alisto	kaw!	26.	Kani				
	alisto	kaw		kani				
	alert	2,PL,ABS		later				
masanggaan				ki!"				
ma=sangga=an				ki				
CIRC,LOC,IRR=bump.into=___				1,PL,IN,ABS				
	27.	Pagmati	ta	darwa	i	buok,		27. When the two had heard this, they felt suddenly taken by surprise. 28. They were afraid that they might be bumped.
		pag=mati	ta	darwa	i	buok		
		GER=hear	GEN	two	DEF,N	piece		
nagulpian			danen	an	28.	Adlek		
na=gulpi=an			danen	an		adlek		
STAT,LOC,R=startled=___			3,PL,ABS	DEF,M		afraid		
danen	an	masanggaan.						
danen	an	ma=sangga=an						
3,PL,ABS	DEF,M	CIRC,LOC,IRR=bump.into=___						
29.	Tul-ungan	i	tudo	dlagan.	30.	Ula		29. Parrotfish ran extremely fast. 30. He didn't know the direction of his running.
	tul-ungan	i	tudo	dlagan		ula		
	parrotfish	DEF,N	totally	run		NEG		
din	nlami		iya	na				
din	na=alam=I		iya	na				
3,SG,ERG	STAT,TH,R=know=___		3,SG,POSS	LK				
pagdlagan	daw	indi	rumbo.	31.	O,			31. Oh, Parrotfish, in his extremely fast running he bumped into a large limestone rock.
pag=dlagan	daw	indi	rumbo		o			
GER=run	if	where	direction		INJ			
Tul-ungan	i	ta	tudo	na	dlagan			
tul-ungan	i	ta	tudo	na	dlagan			
surgeonfish	DEF,N	OBL	totally	LK	run			
din	nasanggaan				din			
din	na=sangga=an				din			
3,SG,GEN	ACT,LOC,R,APT=bump.into=___				3,SG,ERG			
baked	ya	na	manunggol.[12]	32.	Pagsangga			32. Having bumped into the large rock, oh my, he really felt pain on his forehead.
baked	ya	na	manunggol		pag=sangga			
large	DEF,F	LK	limestone.rock		GER=bump.into			
ta	baked	ya	na	manunggol,	aroy,			
ta	baked	ya	na	manunggol	aroy			
OBL	large	DEF,F	LK	limestone.rock	oh.my			

[12] The rock mentioned (*manunggol*) is an underwater limestone formation.

sikad	batyag	din	na	sakit	naan	ta
sikad	batyag	din	na	sakit	naan	ta
very	feeling	3,SG,ERG	LK	pain	SPAT,DEF	OBL

takong	din	an.	33. "Argey,	sakit	ta	33. "Ouch, my forehead hurts."
takong	din	an	argey	sakit	ta	
forehead	3,SG,GEN	DEF,M	ouch	pain	OBL	

takong	ko	ya!"	34. Piro,	dayon	pa	34. But he kept right on running as before and hid.
takong	ko	ya	piro	dayon	pa	
forehead	1,SG,GEN	ATT,F	but	continue	INC	

man	kanen	gyapon	dlagan	daw
man	kanen	gyapon	dlagan	daw
also	3,SG,ABS	same	run	and

magtago.	35. Adlek	ta	blanggay		35. He was afraid of the two-masted sailing ship.
mag=tago	adlek	ta	blangay		
ACT,TH,IRR=hide	afraid	OBL	2.mast.sailboat		

ya.	36. Kalibangbang	ya	dayon	man		36. Butterflyfish, too, immediately slipped into the coral.
ya	kalibangbang	ya	dayon	man		
DEF,F	butterflyfish	DEF,F	immediately	also		

a	suklip	naan	ta	pagang	ya.
a	suklip	naan	ta	pagang	ya
INJ	insert	SPAT,DEF	OBL	coral	DEF,F

37. Adlek	man	kanen	an.	38. Indangan			37. He was also afraid. 38. Surgeonfish, too, immediately went in among the rocks.
adlek	man	kanen	an	indangan			
afraid	also	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M	surgeonfish			

ya	a	dayon	man	seddep	naan
ya	a	dayon	man	seddep	naan
DEF,F	INJ	immediately	also	go.under	SPAT,DEF

ta	bato	ya.
ta	bato	ya
OBL	rock	DEF,F

39. Anduni	kalambay	en	39. Now the two-masted sailing ship was passing by.
anduni	ka=lambay	en	
now/today	ACT,TH,R,APT=pass.by	CM	

blangay	ya	en.	40. Paangad		40. They locked up at the two-masted sailing ship and the running of the two-masted sailing ship was very fast.
blangay	ya	en	pa=angad		
2.mast.sailboat	DEF,F	CM	ACT,TH,R=look.up		

danen	blangay	ya	na	sikad	dalas
danen	blangay	ya	na	sikad	dalas
3,PL,ERG	2.mast.sailboat	DEF,F	LK	very	fast

dlagan	ta	blangay	an.	41.	Piro,	
dlagan	ta	blangay	an		piro	
run	GEN	2.mast.sailboat	DEF,M		but	
gabakak		danen	an	Indangan		daw
ga=bakak		danen	an	indangan		daw
ACT,TH,R=exuberant		3,PL,ABS	DEF,M	surgeonfish		and
Kalibangbang	tak	dili	en	kon		
kalibangbang	tak	dili	en	kon		
butterflyfish	because	NEG	CM	RS		

41. But they were exuberantly happy, Surgeonfish and Butterflyfish, because they wouldn't be bumped.

masanggaan.			42.	Paglambay		ta
ma=sangga=an				pag=lambay		ta
CIRC,LOC,IRR=bump.into=___				GER=pass.by		GEN
blangay	ya	na	nakita			man
blangay	ya	na	na=kita			man
2.mast.sailboat	DEF,F	LK	STAT,TH,R=see			also
Tul-ungan	na	galambay		en,	dayon	
tul-ungan	na	ga=lambay		en	dayon	
parrotfish	LK	ACT,TH,R=pass.by		CM	then	

42. When the two-masted sailing ship had passed by that Parrotfish also had seen that it had already passed by, he came right on out.

kanen	guwa.	43.	Paggwa	din	an,	
kanen	guwa		pag=gwa	din	an	
3,SG,ABS	go.out		GER=go.out	3,SG,GEN	DEf,M	
papangita	din	una	Kalibangbang	ya.		
pa=pangita	din	una	kalibangbang	ya		
ACT,TH,R=search	3,SG,ERG	first	butterflyfish	DEF,F		

43. When he had come out, he looked for Butterflyfish first.

44.	Pagpangita	din	ta	Kalibangbang	
	pag=pangita	din	ta	kalibangbang	
	GER=search	3,SG,GEN	OBL	butterflyfish	
an,	pagnakita		din,	ta	
an	pag=na=kita		din	ta	
DEF,M	GER=STAT,TH,R=see		3,SG,GEN	GEN	
Kalibangbang	an	na	anen	en	Tul-ungan,
kalibangbang	an	na	anen	en	tul-ungan
butterflyfish	DEF,M	LK	EXT,DEF	CM	parrotfish
gagwa	man	kanen	an.		
ga=guwa	man	kanen	an		
ACT,TH,R=go.out	also	3,SG,ABS	DEF,M		

44. When he had searched for Butterflyfish and when Butterflyfish had seen that Parrotfish was there, he also came out.

45.	Paggwa	ta	Kalibangbang	an,	dayon
	pag=gwa	ta	kalibangbang	an	dayon
	GER=go.out	GEN	butterflyfish	DEF,M	then

45. When Butterflyfish had come out, he next asked Parrotfish, "Where did you hide?"

din	insaan	Tul-ungan,	"Indi	ka	
din	insa=an	tul-ungan	indi	ka	
3,SG,ERG	ask=ACT,LOC,IRR	parrotfish	where	2,SG,ABS	

gatago?"
ga=tago
ACT,TH,R=hide

46.	"Hi,	tago!	47.	Subla	ka	na	
	hi	tago		subla	ka	na	
	harrumph	hide		overly	2,SG,ABS	LK	

kablangagen.			48.	Nlaman		na	
ka=blangag=en				na=alam=an		na	
STAT,TH,IRR=panic=___				STAT,LOC,R=know=___		LK	
madyo	en	blangay		an.	49.	Singgit	
madyo	en	blangay		an		singgit	
far	CM	2.mast.sailboat		DEF,M		shout	

ka	en.	50.	Ta,	lagen		no,	
ka	en		ta	luag=en		no	
2,SG,ABS	CM		so	look=ACT,TH,IRR		2,SG,ERG	
takong	ko	i.	51.	Buksol	ni		
takong	ko	i		buksol	ni		
forehead	1,SG,GEN	DEF,N		lump	D1,DEM,ABS		

en!"
en
CM

52.	"Man-o	a?"				
	man-o	a				
	why	INJ				
53.	"Ti,	sangga	i	ta	manunggol	
	ta	sangga	i	ta	manunggol	
	so.now	bump.into	ATT,N	OBL	limestone.rock	

ya.	54.	Nagulpian	a	i.	
ya		na=gulpi=an	a	i	
DEF,F		STAT,LOC,R=startled=___	1,SG,ABS	ATT,N	

55.	Adlek	a	ta	blangay	ya	na
	adlek	a	ta	blangay	ya	na
	afraid	1,SG,ABS	OBL	2.mast.sailboat	DEF,F	LK

masanggaan a."
ma=sangga=an a
ACT,LOC,IRR,APT=bump.into=___ 1,G,ABS

46. "Harrumph, hide!
47. You overly panicked!

48. You knew that the two-masted sailing ship was far away.

49. You screamed.

50. So, you look, my forehead!

51. It has a lump now."

52. "Why?"

53. "So, I bumped into the rock.

54. I was suddenly taken by surprise, after all.

55. I was afraid of the two-masted sailing ship that I might be bumped."

56.	Ambal	Kalibangbang	na	gatatawa
	ambal	kalibangbang	na	ga=CV=tawa
	say	butterflyfish	LK	ACT,TH,R=CONT=laugh

Kalibangbang	an,	"Aa	buksol	en	takong
kalibangbang	an	aa	buksol	en	takong
butterflyfish	DEF,M	aha	lump	CM	forehead

an.	57.	Pario	yan	en	apugan."[13]
an		pario	yan	en	apugan
DEF,F		same	D2,DEM,ABS	CM	cone.shell

58.	Pagtawa	an	ta	Kalibangbang	ya,
	pag=tawa	an	ta	kalibangbang	ya
	GER=laugh	DEF,M	GEN	butterflyfish	DEF,F

gilek	Tul-ungan	i.	59.	Iling	din,	
gilek	tul-ungan	i		iling	din	
angry	parrotfish	DEF,N		say	3,SG,ERG	

"Tawa-tawa	ka	pa.	60.	Sakit	en	an
CRD=tawa	ka	pa		sakit	en	an
CONT=laugh	2,SG,ABS	INC		pain	CM	DEF,M

namatian	ko	ya.
na=mati=an	ko	ya
STAT,LOC,R=hear=___	1,SG,GEN	ATT,F

61.	Tatawa	ka	pa."
	CV=tawa	ka	pa
	CONT=laugh	2,SG,ABS	INC

62.	Dayon	din	lagasen
	dayon	din	lagas=en
	then	3,SG,ERG	chase=ACT,TH,IRR

Kalibangbang	ya	daw	dakepen.
kalibangbang	ya	daw	dakep=en
butterflyfish	DEF,F	and	catch=ACT,TH,IRR

63.	Pagdakep	din	ta	Kalibangbang	ya,
	pag=dakep	din	ta	kalibangbang	ya
	GER=catch	3,SG,GEN	OBL	butterflyfish	DEF,F

dayon	din	ibitan	sungad	ya
dayon	din	ibit=an	sungad	ya
then	3,SG,ERG	hold=ACT,TH,IRR	smout	DEF,F

ta	Kalibangbang,	baba	i	ta	Kalibangbang.
ta	kalibangbang	baba	i	ta	kalibangbang
GEN	butterflyfish	mouth	DEF,N	GEN	butterflyfish

56. Butterflyfish said as Butterflyfish was laughing, "Aha, your forehead has a lump.

57. That is now like a cone shell."

58. When Butterflyfish laughed, Parrotfish got angry.

59. He said, "You laugh and laugh as well.

60. Pain is now what I'm feeling.

61. But you laugh as well."

62. Next he chased Butterflyfish and caught him.

63. When he had caught Butterflyfish, he next took hold of Butterflyfish's snout, Butterflyfish's mouth.

[13]The shell mentioned (*apugan*) is from the family *conidae*.

64. Dayon din pegaen. 65. Dayon
dayon din pega=en dayon
then 3,SG,ERG wring=ACT,TH,IRR then

din kemesen baba ta
din kemes=en baba ta
3,SG,ERG squeeze=ACT,TH,IRR mouth GEN

Kalibangbang. 66. Ti, galangkaw en baba
Kalibangbang ta ga=langkaw en baba
Butterflyfish so ACT,TH,R=long CM mouth

an ta Kalibangbang.
an ta balibangbang
DEF.M GEN butterflyfish

67. Ambal gid ta Kalibangbang an,
ambal gid ta kalibangbang an
say INS ERG butterflyfish DEF,M

"Man-o na man imo, Dey, tak
man-o na man imo dey tak
why LK also EMPH friend because

pakemes no imo na baba
pa=kemes no imo na baba
ACT,TH,R=squeeze 2,SG,ERG EMPH LK mouth

ko yan?"
ko yan
1,SG,GEN ATT,M

68. Iling din, "Ta, bayad ta ambal
iling din ta bayad ta ambal
say 3,SG,ERG so pay OBL say

no ya na nadlek a
no ya na na=adlek a
2,SG,GEN DEF,F LK STAT,TH,R=afraid 1,SG,ABS

asta man en na buksol man takong
asta man en na buksol man takong
including also CM LK lump also forehead

ko i." 69. Nameneng nang en
ko i na=meneng nang en
1,SG,GEN DEF,N STAT,TH,R=stop only CM

64. Next he wrung it.
65. Next he squeezed Butterflyfish's mouth.

66. So, Butterflyfish's mouth now became long.

67. Butterflyfish really said, "Why did you do that, Friend, because, you, you squeezed my mouth?"

68. He said, "There! It's payment for what you said that I became frightened including as well now that my forehead also has a lump."

69. Butterflyfish was just stopped now.

Kalibangbang	an.[14]	
kalibangbang	an	
butterflyfish	DEF,M	

70.	Pagkatapos	an,	dayon	insa	Tul-ungan		70. After that, then Parrotfish asked, "Where is Surgeonfish?"
	pagka=tapos	an	dayon	insa	tul-ungan		
	NR=after	DEF,M	then	ask	parrotfish		
i,	"Indya	a	Indangan	ya?"			
i	indya	a	indangan	ya			
DEF,N	where	INJ	surgeonfish	DEF,F			
71.	Papangita	danen	en	Indangan			71. They searched for Surgeonfish.
	pa=pangita	danen	en	indangan			
	ACT,TH,R=search	3,PL,ERG	CM	surgeonfish			
ya.	72. Pagpangita	danen	ta	Indangan			72. Having searched for Surgeonfish, they found him very deep in sleep.
ya	pag=pangita	danen	ta	indangan			
DEF,F	GER=search	3,PL,GEN	OBL	surgeonfish			
ya,	nakita	danen	na	nangulag	a		
ya	na=kita	danen	na	nang=ulag	a		
DEF,F	STAT,TH,R=see	3,PL,ERG	LK	DIST=move	INJ		
ta	tunuga.	73. Gasandig	ta	bato	ya		73. He was leaning against the rock that was his hiding place.
ta	tunuga	ga=sandig	ta	bato	ya		
OBL	sleep	ACT,TH,R=lean	OBL	rock	DEF,F		
na	taguan	din.					
na	tago=an	din					
LK	hide=place	3,SG,GEN					
74.	Ambal	gid	ta	Kalibangbang	an,	"A,	74. Butterflyfish really said, "Ah, don't you be noisy now because Surgeonfish is sleeping.
	ambal	gid	ta	kalibangbang	an	a	
	say	INS	ERG	butterflyfish	DEF,M	INJ	
anduni	dili	ka	magsaba-saba				
anduni	dili	ka	mag=CRD=saba				
now/today	NEG	2,SG,ABS	ACT,TH,IRR=RP=speak				
tak	gatunuga	Indangan.					
tak	ga=tunuga	indangan					
because	ACT,TH,R=sleep	surgeonfish					
75.	Tagan	ta	man	iya			75. Let's give him his punishment as well."
	atag=an	ta	man	iya			
	give=ACT,LOC,IRR	1,PL,IN,ERG	also	3,SG,CTR			

[14] When the narrator transcribed his story he added here the following sentence which was not on the tape.

i	ta	iya	na	silot."
i	ta	iya	na	silot
ATT,N	OBL	3,SG,POSS	LK	punishment

76. Iling	din,	"Imo	takong	no	an	
iling	din	imo	takong	no	an	
say	3,SG,ERG	EMPH	forehead	2,SG,GEN	DEF,N	

76. He said, "For your part, your forehead has a lump now.

buksol	en.	77. Baba	ko	kende	
buksol	en	baba	ko	kende	
lump	CM	mouth	1,SG,GEN	1,SG,CTR	

77. For my part, my mouth is long now.

langkaw	en.	78. Mamang		ki	
langkaw	en	m=kamang		ki	
long	CM	ACT,AG,IRR=get		1,PL,IN,ABS	

anduni	ta	uling	aged	na
anduni	ta	uling	aged	na
now/today	OBL	charcoal	so.that	LK

leggeran	ta	lawa	i	ta
legged=an	ta	lawa	i	ta
rub=ACT,LOC,IRR	1,PL,IN,ERG	body	DEF,N	GEN

Indangan	aged	kanen	i	
indangan	agod	kanen	i	
surgeonfish	so.that	3,SG,ABS	DEF,N	

magmitem."
mag=mitem
ACT,TH,IRR=black

78. Let's now get some charcoal in order that we (incl) will rub Surgeonfish's body with it in order that he will become black."

79. Kamang	matuod	danen	i	ta	
kamang	ma=tuod	danen	i	ta	
get	ADJR=true	3,PL,ABS	DEF	OBL	

79. It's true they got some charcoal and they helped (each other) to rub Surgeonfish's body.

uling	daw	tabangan	danen	ta	
uling	daw	tabang=an	danen	ta	
charcoal	and	help=ACT,LOC,IRR	3,PL,ERG	OBL	

legged	lawa	ya	ta	Indangan.
legged	lawa	ya	ta	indangan
rub	body	DEF,F	GEN	surgeonfish

80. Sigi	legged	danen	ta	uling		
sigi	legged	danen	ta	uling		
continuously	rub	3,PL,ERG	OBL	charcoal		

80. Continuously they rubbed with the charcoal from the head to his tail.

alin	ta	ulo	ya	asta	ta	ikog	din
alin	ta	ulo	ya	asta	ta	ikog	din
from	OBL	head	DEF,F	until	OBL	tail	3,SG,GEN

ya.	81.	Ti,	nakita	danen	na	81. Now then, they saw that Surgeonfish was already very black.
ya		ta	na=kita	danen	na	
DEF,F		so	STAT,TH,R=see	3,PL,ERG	LK	
Indangan		an	sikad	en	mitem.	
indangan		an	sikad	en	mitem	
surgeonfish		DEF,M	very	CM	black	
	82.	Pagkatapos	tan	en,		82. After that was already finished, they blamed one other.
		pagka=tapos	tan	en		
		NR=after	D2,DEM,GEN	CM		
gabasulay			en	danen	i	en.
ga=basol=ay			en	danen	i	en
ACT,AG,R=blame=REC			CM	3,PL,ABS	DEF,N	CM
	83.	Ambal	gid	ya	ta	Tul-ungan	ya,	83. Parrotfish really said, "Oh, you (pl) look at me, my forehead.
		ambal	gid	ya	ta	tul-ungan	ya	
		say	INS	ATT,F	ERG	parrotfish	DEF,F	
"O,	lagen		nyo	kende				
o	luag=en		nyo	kende				
Oh	look=ACT,TH,IRR		2,PL,ERG	1,SG,CTR				
takong	ko	i.	84.	Buksol	ni			84. This is a lump now."
takong	ko	i		buksol	ni			
forehead	1,SG,GEN	DEF,N		lump	D1,DEM,ABS			
en."								
en								
CM								
	85.	Ambal	gid	man	en	ta	Kalibangbang,	85. Butterflyfish also really said, "So, you (pl) look at me as well, my mouth.
		ambal	gid	man	en	ta	kalibangbang	
		say	INS	also	CM	ERG	butterflyfish	
"Ti,	lagen		nyo	man	kende			
ta	luag=en		nyo	man	kende			
so	look=ACT,TH,IRR		2,PL,ERG	also	1,SG,CTR			
baba	ko	i.	86.	Langkaw	ni			86. This is long now."
baba	ko	i		langkaw	ni			
mouth	1,SG,GEN	DEF,N		long	D1,DEM,ABS			
en."								
en								
CM								
	87.	Ti,	ambal	man	ta	Indangan	ya,	87. And now, Surgeonfish also said, "You (pl) are really crazy, aren't you (pl).
		ta	ambal	man	ta	indangan	ya	
		so	say	also	ERG	surgeonfish	DEF,F	

"Inyo	gid	a	kabuangan	a.
inyo	gid	a	ka=buang=an	a
2,PL,CTR	INS	INJ	NR,INS=crazy=___	INJ

88.	Lagen	nyo	man	kende	lawa	88. You (pl) look at me as well, my body.
	luag=en	nyo	man	kende	lawa	
	look=ACT,TH,IRR	2,PL,ERG	also	1,SG,CTR	body	

ko	i.	89.	Mitem	aren	i	en."	89. I'm black now."
ko	i		mitem	aren	i	en	
1,SG,GEN	DEF,N		black	1,SG,ABS	ATT,N	CM	

90.	A,	yon	en	na	anduni
	a	yon	en	na	anduni
	INJ	D3,DEM,ABS	CM	LK	now/today

90. And so, it's like that that today when we (incl) see Parrotfish in the ocean, his forehead has a lump, here, because he happened to bump into a rock.

Tul-ungan	i	daw	makita	ta	
tul-ungan	i	daw	ma=kita	ta	
parrotfish	DEF,N	if	STAT,TH,IRR=see	1,PL,IN,ERG	

naan	dagat,	takong	din	an	buksol,
naan	dagat	takong	din	an	buksol
SPAT,DEF	sea	forehead	3,SG,GEN	DEF,M	lump

unti,	tenged	na	nakasangga
unti	tenged	na	naka=sangga
D1,A,SP	because	LK	ACT,TH,R,APT=bump.into

kanen	ta	manunggol.	91.	Kalibangbang	an	91. When we (incl) now also see Butterflyfish today, his mouth is now long because it was squeezed by Parrotfish.
kanen	ta	manunggol		kalibangbang	an	
3,SG,ABS	OBL	limestone.rock		butterflyfish	DEF,M	

a	daw	makita	ta	man	en
a	daw	ma=kita	ta	man	en
INJ	if	STAT,TH,IRR=see	1,PL,IN,ERG	also	CM

anduni,	langkaw	en	baba	din	an
anduni	langkaw	en	baba	din	an
now/today	long	CM	mouth	3,SG,GEN	DEF,M

tak	nakemes	ta	Tul-ungan.	92.	Kag	92. And now Surgeonfish, when we see him today, he is now black.
tak	na=kemes	ta	tul-ungan		kag	
because	ACT,TH,R=squeeze	ERG	parrotfish		and	

anduni	a	Indangan	an	daw
anduni	a	indangan	an	daw
now/today	INJ	surgeonfish	DEF,M	if

makita	ta	anduni,	kanen
ma=kita	ta	anduni	kanen
STAT,TH,IRR=see	1,PL,IN,ERG	now/today	3,SG,ABS

an	mitem	en.	93.	Pugya		sikad		93. Before he was a very beautiful white fish.
an	mitem	en		pugya		sikad		
DEF,M	black	CM		long.time.ago		very		
dayaw	na	sidda	na	puti.[15]				
dayaw	na	sidda	na	puti				
beautiful	LK	fish	LK	white				
94. Yi			en	isturya	ta	tallo		94. This now is the story of the three fish that you have heard today.
yi			en	isturya	ta	tallo		
D1,DEM,FRNT,ABS			CM	story	OBL	three		
i	buok	na	sidda	na	inyo	na		
i	buok	na	sidda	na	inyo	na		
DEF,N	piece	LK	fish	LK	2,PL,GEN	LK		
namatian			anduni.	95.	Dayad,	Tong,		95. Boy, isn't our story good?
na=mati=an			anduni		dayad	tong		
STAT,TH,R=hear=___			now/today		good	boy		
isturya	ta		an?					
isturya	ta		an					
story	1,PL,IN,GEN		DEF,M					
96. Yon			na	isturya	may		liksyon	96. As for that story, we (incl) have a lesson that can be gotten as well.
yon			na	isturya	may		liksyon	
D3,DEM,ADJ,G			LK	story	EXT,INDEF		lesson	
ki	man	na	nakamang.		97.	Liksyon		97. The lesson that can be gotten from that is that whatever, truly, is the news you hear, don't you (pl) cause yourself to act suddenly taken by surprise.
ki	man	na	na=kamang			liksyon		
1,PL,IN,ABS	also	LK	ACT,TH,R,APT=get			lesson		
an	na	nakamang		ta		don,		
an	na	na=kamang		ta		don		
DEF,M	LK	ACT,TH,R,APT=get		1,PL,IN,ERG		D3,A,G		
na	daw	ano	gani	namatian				
na	daw	ano	gani	na=mati=an				
LK	if	what	truly	STAT,TH,R=hear=___				
no	an	na	mga	balita,	dili	kaw		
no	an	na	mga	balita	dili	kaw		
2,SG,ERG	DEF,M	LK	PLM	news	NEG	2,PL,ABS		
magpagulpi-gulpi.			98.	Lagen				98. You (sg) really look at it first.
mag=pa=CRD=gulpi				luag=en				
ACT,TH,IRR=CAUS=INS=suddenly				look=ACT,TH,IRR				

[15] Most Kagayanen are familiar with this story and the appearance of the three fish. Because of this and because it makes for a more entertaining story, no mention is made at the beginning of the story of the supposed former appearance of each of the fish. A version of this story has been heard in which such information was related when the audience was pre-school-age children who probably were not familiar with the story or the appearance of the three fish.

no	gid	anay.	99.	Dili	ka	en
no	gid	anay		dili	ka	en
2,SG,ERG	INS	first		NEG	2,SG,ABS	CM

mag-adlek	ta	miad.
mag=adlek	ta	miad
ACT,TH,IRR=afraid	OBL	well

99. Don't you (sg) become very afraid.

100. Usisaen			no	gid	anay
usisa=en			no	gid	anay
investigate=ACT,TH,IRR			2,SG,ERG	INS	first

aged	na	ula	may	matabo
aged	na	ula	may	ma=tabo
so.that	LK	NEG	EXT,INDEF	CIRC,TH,IRR=happen

ki	kaon.
ki	kaon
OBL	2,SG,OBL

100. You (sg) really investigate it first in order that there will not be something (bad) that might happen to you (sg).

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